

World of Labor by George Morris

In 1967, when the lid was blown off the CIA's operations which it conducted through phony foundations and the international affairs machinery of George Meany and Jay Lovestone, it was

disclosed that more than a million dollars of CIA money was channeled through the M. J. Kaplan Fund to finance an outfit called the Institute of Labor Research. The real operator of the ILR was one Sacha Volman, who had earlier worked for Itadio Free Europe, one of the CIA propaganda networks. The ILR, under Volman's direction, was given the task of splitting and confusing the forces in Latin America opposing the reactionary dictatorships in a number of countries, by setting up "left of center" anti-Communist fronts. Seventeen such parties were set up in Latin American lands by the CIA through the ILR's finances and CIA contacts. And who was the chairman of ILR? Norman Thomas!

Was Thomas a conscious collaborator with the CIA? Not likely. I recall the pitiful sight he made when he appeared on a TV screen and frankly admitted he was deceived.

What made possible such monstrous deception of the head of the Socialist Party? Harrington's predecessor also was a strong adherent of anti-Communism in the name of what he called "democratic socialism." He naively believed that "left of center" parties in Latin America would be an effective substitute for the militant left and Communist movements spreading across those lands. But shortly before his death he found that the tactic only proved most useful to the CIA for setting up the military dictatorships, like those over Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and others.

Basically, the deception was the same in the case of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, as Harrington would find by examining the facts with prejudice.

Harrington, like many reform socialists in the past who have seen the futility of their course, just doesn't want to see the realities of socialist development now embracing peoples of a third of the world. In search of "alternatives" they either get swindled into enemy ventures, like the CIA operations in Latin America, or they imagine they see "socialism" in something like Israel. Whether conscious or not, their line in the end serves the reactionaries.

As for Harrington's repeated reminders that he follows the Debs tradition: Debs was a militant fighter. He hailed the establishment of the Soviet government as the first socialist state. He militantly fought against the imperialist war of his time and went to jail for doing so. In all the long years of the war in Indochina, we have not seen any evidence of the Debs tradition in any of the wings of Socialist Party before and after the merger.

Debriefing the press: 'Exclusive to the CIA'

by William Worthy

In April 1961, a few days after the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Allen Dulles, at that time the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, met in off-the-record session with the American Society of Newspaper Editors at their annual convention.

Given the Cuba intelligence, by then obviously faulty, that had entered into Washington's rosy advance calculations, he inevitably was pressed to tell: "Just what are the sources of the CIA's information about other countries?"

One source, Dulles replied, was U. S. foreign correspondents who are "debriefed" by the CIA on their return home. The usual practice is to hole up in a hotel room for several days of intense interrogation.

Much of the debriefing, I've learned over the years, is agreed to freely and willingly by individual newsmen untroubled by the world's image of them as spies. In

at least one case, as admitted to me by the Latin-American specialist on one of our mass-circulation weekly newsmagazines, the debriefing took place very reluctantly after his initial refusal to cooperate was vetoed by his superiors. But depending on the particular foreign crises or obsessions at the moment, some of the eager sessions with the CIA debriefers bring handsome remuneration. Anyone recently returned from the erupted Philippines can probably name his price.

Despite its great power and its general unaccountability, the CIA dreads exposes. Perhaps because of a "prickly rebel" family reputation stretching over three generations, the CIA has never approached me about any of the 48 countries I have visited, including four (China, Hungary, Cuba, and North Vietnam) that had been placed off-limits by the State Department. But the secret agency showed intense interest in my travels to those "verboten" lands. In fact in those dark days, Eric Sevareid once told me that Allen Dulles, the intelligence

gatherer, differed with brother Foster Dulles, the Calvinist diplomat about the wisdom of the self-defeating travel bans.

Years later, I learned that the U. S. "vice-consul" in Budapest who twice came to my hotel to demand (unsuccessfully) my passport as I transited Hungary en route home from China in 1957 was, in fact, a CIA agent operating under a Foreign Service cover. During a subsequent lecture tour, I met socially in Kansas City a man who had served his Army tour of duty in mufti, on detached service in North Africa and elsewhere with the National Security Agency. Out of curiosity I asked him what would be the "premium" price for a newsmen's debriefing on out-of-bounds China. He thought for a moment and then replied: "Oh, about \$10,000." Out of the CIA's petty cash drawer.

My first awareness of the CIA's special use of minority-group newsmen abroad came at the time of the 1955 Afro-Asian summit conference at Bandung, Indonesia. Through Washington sources (including Marquis Childs of the St. Louis Post Dispatch), Cliff Mackay, then editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, discovered—and told me—that the government was planning to send at least one black correspondent to "cover" the historic gathering.

The "conduit" for the expense money and "fee" was the director

of a "moderate" New York-based national organization, supported by many big corporations, that has long worked against employment discrimination. The CIA cash was passed to the organization's director by a highly placed Eisenhower administration official overseeing Latin-American affairs who later became governor of a populous Middle Atlantic state, and whose brothers and family foundation have long been heavy contributors to the job opportunity organization.

Because of the serious implications for a press supposedly free of governmental ties, I relayed this information to the American Civil Liberties Union. I also told Theodore Brown, one of A. Philip Randolph's union associates in the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Ted's re-

memory: "I'm one step ahead of you, Bill. President Sukarno and the Indonesian government know all about this, and they are particularly incensed at having a man of color sent to spy in their country."

Cold-war readiness to "cooperate" with spy agencies, whether motivated by quick and easy money (I've often wondered if under-the-counter CIA payments have to be reported on income tax returns!) or spurred by a misconceived patriotism, had its precedent in World War I and in the revolutionary-counterrevolutionary aftermath. In the summer of 1920 Walter Lippmann, his wife, and Charles Merz published in the New Republic an exhaustive survey of how the New York Times had reported the first two years of the Russian revolution. They found that on 91 occasions—an average of twice a week—Times dispatches out of Riga, Latvia, buttressed by editorials, had "informed" readers that the revolution had either collapsed or was about to collapse, while at the same time constituting a "mortal menace" to non-Communist Europe. Lippmann and his associates attributed the misleading coverage to a number of factors. Especially cited in the survey were the transcending win-the-war and anti-Bolshevik passions of Times personnel, as well as "undue intimacy" with Western intelligence agencies.

After 1959, when Fidel Castro came to power after having ousted the corrupt pro-American Batista regime, Miami became a modern-day Riga: a wild rumor factory from where Castro's "death" and imminent overthrow were repeatedly reported for several years. Both in that city of expatriates and also in Havana, "undue intimacy" with the CIA caused most North American reporters covering the Cuban revolution to echo and to parrot official U. S. optimism about the Bay of Pigs invasion.

In the summer of 1961, on my fourth visit to that revolutionary island, a Ministry of Telecommunications official told me of a not untypical incident shortly before the invasion. Through mercenaries and through thoroughly discredited Batistianos, the CIA was masterminding extensive sabotage inside Cuba—a policy doomed to failure not only because anti-Castro endeavors lacked a popular base, but also because kindergartens, department stores during shopping hours, and similar public places bombed. In no country does one mobilize mass support by killing

children in their classrooms and women where they shop.

On one such occasion a bomb went off at 9.08 p. m. Five minutes earlier, at 9.03 p. m., an ambitious U. S. wire-service correspondent filed an "urgent press" dispatch from the Western Union teleprinter in his bureau office, reporting the explosion that, awkwardly for him, came five minutes after the CIA's scheduled time. When that correspondent and most of his U. S. colleagues were looked up for a week or two during the CIA-directed Bay of Pigs invasion and were then expelled, many U. S. editorial writers were predictably indignant.

Except perhaps in Washington itself and in the United Nations delegates' lounge, the CIA's department on journalism is probably busier abroad than with newsmen at home. In 1961, during a televised interview, Walter Lippmann referred casually to the CIA's bribing of foreign newsmen (editors as well as the working press), especially at the time of critical elections. All over the world governments and political leaders, in power and in opposition, can usually name their journalistic compatriots who are known to be or strongly suspected of being on the CIA's bountiful payroll. I believe it was Leonid Brezhnev who once observed that anyone who engages in intelligence work is always uncovered sooner or later.

Even neutralist countries learned to become distrustful of U. S. newsmen. In early 1967, Prince Norodom Sihanouk expelled a black reporter after just 24 hours. In an official statement the Ministry of Information alleged that he "is known to be not only a journalist but also an agent of the CIA." In a number of Afro-Asian countries, entry visas for U. S. correspondents, particularly on a first visit, can be approved only by the prime minister or other high official.

As recently as a generation ago it would have been unthinkable for most U. S. editors, publishers, newsmasters, and reporters to acquiesce in intelligence debriefings, not to mention less "passive" operations. What Eric Murrow denounced as the cold-war concept of press and universality as instruments of foreign policy had not yet spread over the land. In the years before the Second World War, if any government agent had dared to solicit the cooperation of a William Allen

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CIA & drug traffic in South-East Asia

By ROMAN H. MEITA

FORTY YEARS AGO, the students in Berlin shrieked: "We spit on freedom". That attitude of mind of the German nation enabled Adolf Hitler to bamboozle the electorate and seize power.

In 1972, another facet of the diseased human mind led Mrs. Patricia Nixon and her hen-witted daughter, Julie Eisenhower, to proclaim in defence of Richard Nixon's Vietnam policy that they were willing to immolate themselves on behalf of the Saigon stooge, Thieu.

THAT EXPLAINS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT WHY THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE BROUGHT ABOUT A LANDSLIDE VICTORY FOR RICHARD NIXON, THE MOST CONTEMPTIBLE, THE MOST UNLOVED FIGURE IN AMERICAN POLITICS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BLACK RECORD

Richard Nixon's re-election as President of the US proves complete erosion of moral values in American society. What has been the record of this man as President of the US in the last four years?

Notwithstanding the pantomime ministry of Dr. Kissinger's secret negotiations with Hanoi, Nixon has intensified the Vietnam War. He has devastated North and South Vietnam with fifteen million tons of bombs and a million Asians dead. And one is inclined to agree with I.F. Stone, the celebrated American columnist, that the Vietnam War may go on until 1976.

Richard Nixon has lowered the respect for the United States Supreme Court by appointing non-entities ready to carry out their master's will.

He has bullied the national press into subservience and with his secret electoral funds of £45 million, provided by the military-industrial complex, bought television to portray him every night as a man of peace hijacking his way to Peking and Moscow.

He has employed electronic devices to spy on his political opponents. The list can go on.

Two tons of opium and morphine were seized aboard a junk in Hong Kong harbour. This was the second biggest seizure. The two-million-dollar worth of contraband narcotics is part of the CIA-masterminded drug traffic to South-East Asian countries to lull them into submission to the American will.

One would have thought that this repulsive record was enough for any decent man to renounce Nixon in disgust. However, the American ballot box turned out to be another idiot box. And the most affluent society in the world showed itself as the most sick society. Consequently one must say farewell not only to the American Dream but to freedom at large.

SICK SOCIETY

To advance my thesis I must turn to The New York Review of Books of 21 September, 1972, the sea-mail copy which has just arrived in Bombay. Before doing so I may be permitted a pertinent aside.

In the midst of all this, the "White Russians" of Indian society are up in arms as their originals were trying to attack and dislodge Lenin. The Indira Government is subjected to the most vicious attacks from the deshi "White Russians." They seem to forget that drought is not an Indian phenomenon only. It prevails in the Soviet Union and in Maoist China as well as in India. It has compelled Russia and China to buy American wheat worth billions of dollars in hard cash.

Drought is not the only Indian calamity. Corruption at all levels in our society has brought about a state of affairs which can only end in chaos. We are a corrupt and degraded lot. There is no doubt about it. But who is there in our country today to replace Indira Gandhi?

The alternative to her seems to be chaos and not revolution. For revolution we require character and integrity. Alas, we cannot boast of these characteristics and we witness the dismal spectacle of politicians who blatantly defend the CIA activities in our country.

POLITICS OF HEROIN

It is in this connection I give below a summary of the account which has appeared in The New York Review of Books of 21 September 1972. A book entitled The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia by Alfred W. McCoy was to be published by the well-known publishers, Harper & Row.

On June 1, 1972, Cord Meyer, a CIA official, visited the New York office of Harper & Row and requested the management to provide him with a copy of the galley-proofs of McCoy's forthcoming book.

THE REASON WAS THAT IN THIS BOOK MR. MCCOY WAS SHOWING THE COMPLICITY OF THE CIA AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN ORGANISING SOUTHEAST ASIAN DRUG TRAFFIC SINCE 1950.

At this very time the author, Alfred McCoy, was testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee his findings into the Southeast Asian drug traffic. McCoy's researches included during 18 months of study more than 250 interviews with heroin dealers, police officials and intelligence agents in Europe and Asia.

It was Cord Meyer's contention that Mr. McCoy's book would be full of inaccuracies. It would embarrass the United States government and perhaps involve the publishers in libel suits. (As a CIA official, Cord Meyer had been in the past in charge of providing financial subsidies to organisations such as the National Students' Association, Encounter magazine, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom.)

CIA CENSORSHIP

The publishers got in touch with the author and informed him that they had decided to let the CIA examine the galley-proofs. The reasons given by the publishers were two:

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THE KAPLANS OF THE C.I.A.

One of the most bizarre accounts of covert CIA financing, espionage, Communist activities and murder involves Jacob Merrill Kaplan or his nephew Joel David Kaplan.

Jacob M. Kaplan was born in Lowell, Mass. on December 23, 1893, the son of David Kaplan and the former Fannie Gertz (a 1938 biography refers to his mother as Fannie Levin). After attending public schools in Massachusetts, Kaplan spent ten years in semi-tropical Latin American sugar-producing countries. On June 20, 1925 he married Alice Manheim and they had four children: Joan Felice (Mrs. C. Gerard Davidson), Elizabeth (Mrs. Gonzalo Fonseca), Richard David, and Mary Ellen.

In 1920 Jacob Kaplan organized the Oldetyme Molasses Company and served as its president until it was merged with Dunbar Molasses Company in 1924. In 1928 he sold the entire company and became president of J.M. Kaplan and Brothers, Inc. and later the Kaplan Holding Corp. In 1934 he established the Molasses Products Corp. He and his half-brother, Abram Isaac Kaplan, became millionaires known as the "molasses kings."

In the hearings known as Appendix IX of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. Congress, page 1085, it was revealed that J.M. Kaplan was affiliated with the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Biro Bidjan (in the Soviet Union). This organization was cited as a Communist front which had its own worldwide propaganda campaign for the purpose of getting Jews to emigrate to a province of the Soviet Union. The organization was subsequently cited as subversive by an Attorney General of the U.S.

By 1932 Jacob Kaplan was president and chairman of the board of Hearn Department Stores, Inc.; he became president of the American Dry Ice Corp. the following year, and in 1945 became president of Welch Grape Juice, Inc. of New York. He was also an

official of the Ronier Corp., Jemkap Inc., and Southwestern Sugar and Molasses Co., Inc. He was a director of the New Mexico Lumber and Timber Company and president and director of the J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., which he originally started in 1942.

Jacob Kaplan received considerable publicity when it was disclosed that through his J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc. of 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City, at least a million dollars of CIA funds were dispensed to such leftist organizations as the Institute of International Labor Research, Inc. This outfit which has also been known as Labor Research, Inc., maintains an office at 113 East 37th Street, N.Y.C. It was headed by the late Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party of the United States, at the very time CIA turned over nearly \$1 million to it for the purpose of financing what the New York TIMES of February 22, 1967, described euphemistically as "17 left-of-center parties throughout Latin America."

Secretary-Treasurer of the Institute of Labor Research was Sacha Volman, who set up radically leftist "institutes" in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. According to Otilia Ulate, former President of Costa Rica, the San Jose Institute supported only those Parties which "have the characteristic features which make them identical in doctrine and homogenous in political and social attitudes with Russian Communism." Ulate said that all democratic parties opposed to the Marxist regime in Cuba were excluded from this offshoot of the Norman Thomas and Sacha Volman Institute.

Through the Dominican Institute, using CIA funds, Volman promoted political careers for such key Communists as the notorious Juan Bosch. Sacha Volman had close ties with comrades throughout Latin America and was neck-deep in the Marxist-Leninist "Center of Research in Economic and Social Development" at Santo Domingo. This organization

(CIDES) was financed by the CIA, the U.S. State Department and the Ford Foundation. When his intelligence organization infiltrated CIDES, General Wessin y Wessin of the Dominican Republic found it to be a Communist training and indoctrination operation. Sacha Volman was an instructor in that operation and was the man who, with State Department and CIA direction, promoted Communist Juan Bosch all the way to the Presidency of the Dominican Republic.

Volman is suspected of being a Soviet agent assigned to Latin American Affairs. He was born in Russia, lived in Romania and came to the United States as a "refugee." He is now a U.S. citizen and has been living at 245 East 8th St., N.Y.C. In the Hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on "The Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean," General Wessin y Wessin testified under oath about Volman's CIA operation: (Quote)

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you spoke of 40 Communist indoctrination centers operating in the Dominican Republic under Juan Bosch. Did these centers operate openly as a Communist operation?

General WESSIN. Openly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they display Communist banners or signs?

General WESSIN. One of these schools located on Caracas Street No. 54 displayed the Soviet flag.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Soviet flag? Not just a Communist banner with a hammer and sickle, but the Soviet flag?

General WESSIN. It was the red flag with the hammer and sickle.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you know where these centers were operated? You named the location of one. Can you tell us where others were?

General WESSIN. In the school Padre Villini Calle-Mercedes. This building, in spite of the fact that it belonged to the Government, was turned over to the Communist Dato Pagan Perdomo to install a school of political science.

There was another one, which went under the initials of CIDES located in the farm, or Finca Jaina Moza. In this school, the teachers were among the others, Juan Bosch, Angel Miolan, and Sacha Volman.

Mr. SOURWINE. One of those names has come up before. One new. Let's identify these men. Who is or was Angel Miolan?

General WESSIN. Angel Miolan is a Communist, and I say that he is a Communist because in order to be secretary of Vicente Lombardo Toledano for 10 years you have to be a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Vicente Lombardo Toledano was an outstanding Communist, was he not?

General WESSIN. Yes, sir. He was, in fact, head of all Communist political activities in Mexico

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who is Sacha Volman? General WESSIN. He was a Rumanian brought there by Juan Bosch. I don't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you consider him a Communist?

General WESSIN. In my country there is a saying that says tell me with whom you go, and I will tell you who you are." (End of Quote)

Also involved with the Communist-oriented CIDES organization was Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. The Parvin Foundation, of which Douglas was a member of the board of directors, joined with the National Association of Broadcasters and CIDES to produce "educational" films. According to the New York TIMES of February 22, 1967, Douglas became a member of the board of CIDES, which administered the film project in the field. The "educational" films and the CIDES Communist training school had to be abandoned when President Bosch attempted an open Communist takeover and was overthrown by a military coup late in 1963. The CIA had been financing an effort to turn the Dominican Republic into another Cuba.

In 1952 Jacob Kaplan became a trustee of the New School for Social Research on West 12th Street in New York City, well-known as a Marxist-oriented school. In 1956 Kaplan was honored, along with two others, when an 8-story annex of a new school building was named for him. A 4-story building on 11th Street was named for Albert A. List, president of the Glen Alden Corp., and the main college building on 12th Street was named for Dr. Alvin Johnson, long a professor at the New School for Social Research. Dr. Johnson was reported to be a supporter of the late Communist Congressman Vito Marcantonio, and according to published reports, was affiliated with a long list of Communist fronts.

In 1968 ground was broken in New York City for the construction of an apartment complex, originally estimated to cost \$10 million, to provide low income housing for artists, writers, sculptors, musicians, dancers and actors. The project was a joint venture of the J.M. Kaplan Fund

and the National Council on the Arts, both of which made grants of \$750,000 toward its construction. Loans to finance the project were made by the Federal Housing Administration. The property was purchased from Bell Laboratories for \$2½ million by the Westbeth Corp., a non-profit organization formed by the Kaplan Fund. Mrs. Joan Davidson, daughter of Jacob Kaplan, told the New York TIMES "The Federal Housing Administration has been very broad-minded, helpful and reasonable and has waived their usual requirements in several areas."

Kaplan's daughter, Joan, had married Crow Girard Davidson on December 20, 1953 and they were divorced in March of 1967. Davidson was a member of the Democratic National Committee and had been Assistant Secretary of the Interior from 1946 to 1950. On page 5291 of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations, exhibit 1294 is a letter to Davidson from Edward Carter, President of the IPR, indicating a close relationship.

On May 20, 1970, the New York TIMES reported the formal opening of Westbeth, the world's largest housing project for artists which has cost \$13 million so far. Speaking on the occasion, in addition to Mayor John Lindsay, was Rev. Howard L. Moody of the Judson Memorial Church, long a supporter of leftist causes.

Jacob M. Kaplan and his half-brother, Abrim Isaac, made millions in sugar and molasses, principally in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Abrim died in 1959 and his wife, Mrs. Ray Kempner Kaplan of N.Y., died in May, 1965. Joel David Kaplan, age 45, the son of Abrim and Ray, became a partner in the Kaplan interests in Central and South America. Kaplan had been living at 215 E. 75th St., N.Y.C., and married a New York model, Bonnie Sharie, on October 14, 1956. The marriage was a stormy one and was terminated after Bonnie charged her husband with cruelty and told N.Y. Supreme Court Justice Thomas Aurelio that in one year of married life her husband had beaten her 20 times. Eventually she was awarded \$200 a week alimony but Kaplan was constantly in arrears.

Joel Kaplan established an independent molasses business in Peru and trucking firms in Texas and Oklahoma. He subsequently entered into an official partnership with Luis M. Vidal, Jr., the godson of the late General Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Vidal, Jr. was the personal unofficial representative or business agent for the Dominican Republic during a number of years while Trujillo headed the government. Luis Melchoir Vidal, Sr., an

importer, has been a consultant to U.S. Government departments and reportedly has had influential friends both in Washington and Latin America.

During the 1950's Vidal teamed up with Joel Kaplan and, under cover of either the Paint Company of America or the American Sucrose Company, they operated throughout Latin America reportedly as agents of the CIA, supplying arms to anti-Communist governments and movements. Joel Kaplan, however, was on the left and reportedly also supplied guns for Communist guerrillas in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Cuba, while Vidal was selling arms to anti-Communists and anti-Castro Cubans. It was also reported that Kaplan had even shortchanged the guerrilla leaders by supplying less arms than were paid for. The business partnership ended abruptly with the murder of Vidal.

It is believed that Vidal learned of his partner's dealings with the Communist guerrillas and there was a falling out. On November 18, 1961 the decomposed and bullet-torn body of a man, subsequently identified as that of Luis M. Vidal, Jr., was found in a shallow grave off a lonely road between Mexico City and Cuernavaca.

Kaplan, who had been in Mexico, returned to New York where he learned that Mexican authorities wished to question him concerning the death of his partner. Kaplan left the U.S. and went to Madrid, Spain where he was arrested in the spring of 1962 by Louis Pozo, the Spanish Chief of Interpol (international police agency). After a week in a Madrid jail, Kaplan was returned to Mexico to face trial for premeditated murder. Kaplan was represented at the trial by Victor Velasquez, a prominent Mexican attorney and associate of Louis Nizer of New York. The defense claimed that the body of the murdered man was not Vidal but the Mexican authorities produced Vidal's wife who identified the deceased as her husband. Tremendous pressures were brought to bear on both sides and an attempt had allegedly been made to obtain \$200,000 from Kaplan as the price for quashing the case. It was revealed that just before the murder, Kaplan had entered Mexico with a false passport issued to Albert Richard Yates, age 30, a British seaman, and that two other men accompanied him. One was a Russian-born naturalized American, Eysai Petrushansky; the other, who claimed Israeli citizenship, had a passport issued to Earl Scott. He later identified himself as Harry Kopelson, a merchant from Tel Aviv. He also was charged with the murder but was acquitted. Petrushansky was not brought to trial. Kaplan was convicted in Mexico City of premeditated murder and was sentenced to serve 28 years in prison. A number of appeals were filed beginning in 1965, until finally his last appeal was,

turned down by the Mexican Supreme Court in 1968.

In the meantime, in May of 1965 Kaplan's lawyers had revealed to authorities that he had acquired a new wife, 25-year old Irma Vasquez Calderon, and that they were married by proxy. Under Mexican law, wives are permitted conjugal visits with prisoners.

While the appeals were fizzling out, Joel Kaplan's divorced sister, Judy Kaplan Dowis, age 40, of Sausalito, Calif., undertook a series of attempts, both legal and extra-legal, to get her brother out of the Mexican prison. These included attempting to bribe high Mexican Government officials, planning escapes and even producing a defrocked Roman Catholic priest who claimed that the murdered man, Luis Vidal, was alive and that he had married Vidal to a woman named Lucia Magana. This and numerous other plans and plots were unsuccessful. Judy then made contact with Victor D. Stadter, reportedly a big-time smuggler, who lives in a 16-room house on a 10-acre estate in Glendora, Calif. Stadter, now 52 years old, had spent five years in the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. after being convicted in the U. S. District Court in Brooklyn in connection with a narcotics conspiracy case.

Stadter worked out a plan for Kaplan's escape. He purchased a Bell Aircraft model 47 helicopter in Casper, Wyoming for \$65,000; he also acquired a fast single engine Cessna 210 aircraft and had both of them registered in the name of M. Milandra. On August 18, 1971 at 6:37 P.M., the helicopter, piloted by Roger Guy Hershner, age 29, formerly of Glendora and now of Ontario, California, was set down in the prison courtyard. Within 20 seconds it was aloft with Kaplan and his cellmate, Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro, age 36, who was serving a sentence for counterfeiting and forgery. The helicopter flew approximately 100 miles away where a plane piloted by Stadter was waiting to take them to Brownsville, Texas where they boarded another small plane which took them to Sausalito, Calif. where sister Judy lived. Through Victor Stadter it was learned that Kaplan spent three months in Stadter's Glendora home after the escape.

In a dispatch from Mexico City, dated August 20, 1971, the U.P.I. reported that the Mexican police asked the U.S. F.B.I. to seek and arrest a New Yorker who had escaped by helicopter from the Mexican federal penitentiary. The dispatch stated that Victor Valesquez, Kaplan's defense attorney, claimed that his client was an agent of the CIA. On September 6, 1971 the New York TIMES reported that a spokesman for the U.S. Department of Justice said that Kaplan was NOT sought by the FBI and that little formal interest had been shown by the Mexican Government in obtaining the return of Kaplan even

though he was an escaped convict. It was subsequently learned that Kaplan's two friends, who entered Mexico with him prior to the murder, had been involved previously in European espionage activities (not on behalf of the U.S.). Reporters who interviewed members of the Kaplan family after his escape obtained little information. His sister, Mrs. Dowis, refused all information and referred questioners to her attorney, Vasilios Choulos of San Francisco. Kaplan and his Mexican-born second wife are reportedly living in the vicinity of Sante Fe, N.M. where the Kaplan family is said to have property and business interests.

The CIA involvement in the death of General Trujillo has been documented. Arturo Espallat explains in "Trujillo: The Last Caesar" that "The arrival of weapons from the Government of the United States was, for the plotters, tangible evidence that the might of the United States was behind them. Without that support there would simply have been no conspiracy. Trujillo had put together a powerful political-military machine which could only have been destroyed by intervention from the outside world." And the State Department had decreed that Rafael Trujillo, our most reliable anti-Communist ally in the Caribbean, must die. The CIA did the job. Luis Vidal, godson of General Trujillo, was also murdered by the CIA.

On the other hand, Joel Kaplan lives comfortably on his inherited fortune, unmolested by the U.S. Department of Justice in spite of his involvement in supplying arms to Communist guerrillas and revolutionaries. His illegal smuggling of arms, use of false passports, murder conviction and finally his escape from the Mexican prison are seemingly of no interest to U.S. authorities. The CIA works in mysterious ways its murders to perform and its murderers to protect.

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Kremlin exploits anti-CIA charges

Soviets stir U.S.-India discord

By Charlotte Saikowski
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

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• Washington
For weeks now the Russians have been shrilly playing up India's charges that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is meddling in its internal affairs.

Sensitive about their own relationship with New Delhi, the Soviets appear to be trying to drive an even deeper wedge between India and the United States and to prevent the two from moving toward any healing dialogue.

If the Kremlin's vociferous anti-CIA campaign points up anything, say U.S. officials, it is that the detente between the Soviet Union and the United States does not put an end to the political or ideological rivalry of the two powers. Moscow continues to pursue its own national interests and in the given case that interest lies in expanding its own influence in southern Asia and removing that of the Americans.

The Russians also are trying to discredit U.S. relations with the Philippines. On Oct. 25 Moscow Radio, in an English broadcast to Asia, said that Washington is irritated by the recent developments in Manila and suggested that the CIA had been involved in engineering and financing actions against the Marcos government.

Indian allegations against the CIA were first leveled by the head of the Congress Party late in September. They were then picked up by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and, although they have never been substantiated, they have stirred a storm in Indian politics.

Some Indian media have in effect blamed the American intelligence organization for India's domestic troubles.

Soviets exploit situation

The Russians moved in quickly to exploit the situation and Soviet news media have kept up a steady drumfire of accusation, often citing elaborate particulars that do not even appear in the Indian Press.

In sum, they charge the CIA is engaged in a concerted program of subversion aimed at "undermining India's political and economic independence" and "whitewashing the imperialist aggressive policy of the United States in Asia." The Soviets say the CIA is using scholars, scientists, and teachers in this effort.

Varied ruses charged

Broadcasting in English to Asia on Oct. 20, to cite an example, the Moscow-sponsored Radio Peace and Progress said that the CIA had planted its graduates in India as religious missionaries and that many of these mis-

sionary groups were located in strategic defense regions.

the CIA, working through such philanthropic organizations as Asia Fund, was inciting separatist sentiments in Nagaland and trying to sour relations between India and Bangladesh as well as between India and the Soviet Union. It described these alleged activities in minute detail.

As U.S. officials assess it, the Soviet campaign must be viewed against the backdrop of Moscow's own position in India. That, despite the treaty of friendship, has never been as firm as the Russians would like and they apparently want to shore it up.

Economic relations with New Delhi, for instance, have been complicated over the past few years. The Indians, for one, have not been willing to give the Soviets the desired credits.

A coolish Kremlin view of the Indian economy is reflected in a recent commentary in the Soviet monthly Peoples of Asia and Africa on the 25th anniversary of India's independence. The article points out that India is on the capitalist road of development and that the socialist program of the Congress Party is not socialist by Soviet standards.

Firm base in question

The Russian reader is thus left with the impression that Soviet relations with India are not based on ideological affinity and therefore are not firmly based.

The Kremlin's concern is understandable. Some segments of Indian opinion are critical of the Russian influence on the subcontinent and generally the Indians are thought to place too high a value on their independence to fall under the Soviet thumb.

Hence the Soviet leadership may not be too confident about the stability of its relations with New Delhi and the anti-CIA campaign can be interpreted as an effort to make sure that there are continuing problems between the United States and India and that the current alienation is not patched up.

U.S. officials express dismay at the present coolness in Indian-American relations — engendered in part by Washington's policies during the Indo-Pakistani crisis, the CIA allegations, and New Delhi's pro-Hanoi position on the Vietnam war — and would welcome moves toward a dialogue. But this is seen to be a difficult process given Mrs. Gandhi's present mood.

Meanwhile, the Russians are having a field day.

Bloodbaths in Vietnam: The Reality and the Myth

By Robert F. Turner

STANFORD, Calif.—Administration spokesmen have argued that the United States cannot unilaterally withdraw from Vietnam without inviting a vast bloodbath. In support of this thesis, they assert that following the Communist takeover in North Vietnam in 1954 a massacre occurred resulting in the killing of more than 50,000 people and the indirect deaths of hundreds of thousands more. Critics of the Administration have recently charged that no bloodbath took place in the North—that President Nixon's apparent concern is founded on a myth.

I have been to Vietnam three times, twice working for the North Vietnamese Affairs Division of a branch of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. My duties included following the North Vietnamese radio and press, studying captured documents and interviewing important North Vietnamese and Vietcong defectors. Having a personal interest in the early days of the Communist regime in North Vietnam, I discussed the "bloodbath" with many defectors from various areas of North Vietnam who had been present during the period in question. It should be noted that several of these individuals had been Communist party members and active participants in the so-called "bloodbath"—either as specially trained cadres or as "people's court" judges.

On the basis of these interviews and other evidence accumulated during the past eight years, I am convinced that there was in fact a large-scale purge of opposition elements following the Communist takeover in North Vietnam, and that its magnitude was sufficient to warrant the label "bloodbath." The purge took the form of a "land reform." However, it was clear to most observers that an incorrect political standpoint was as likely as economic prosperity to bring a death sentence.

It is difficult to determine the actual human cost of the "land reform" because no official figures are available and those witnesses who have escaped the Communist North seldom are knowledgeable about events outside of their own village or province. It is known that the party established a quota of at least five "landlords" for execution in each village.

To Van Xiem, a Communist party member since 1950 who served on the planning committee in Thua Binh Province, reports 31 executions out of 5,000 residents in Congtru village. These figures suggest a death rate of one for every 160 to 170 people, which projected nationwide would suggest approximately 100,000 executions.

for reasons which are too complicated to detail here, the number of executions was probably smaller than that. Most Vietnam scholars, including Hoang Van Chi and the late Bernard Fall, accept the figure of 50,000 executions.

The "people's court" executions, however, accounted for only a small part of the total victims of the "land reform." Far more numerous were the "class enemies" who committed suicide rather than face Communist justice, and the wives and children of "landlords" who died of starvation under the "isolation policy."

The most thorough study of the "land reform" to date is Hoang Van Chi's excellent book, "From Colonialism to Communism," which concludes that the total victims of the purge numbered nearly 500,000. I have found nothing in my own research to dispute this estimate, and I am quite sure that the victims numbered in six digits.

All of the defectors are in agreement that a Communist "land reform" in South Vietnam would dwarf the bloodbath which occurred in the North. Captured Vietcong documents and statements by high-ranking defectors indicate that the Vietcong have between three and five million names on "blood debt" lists for punishment in the future. Two leading British authorities—P. J. Honey and Sir Robert Thompson—have estimated that a Vietcong bloodbath would result in over one million deaths. Unfortunately, the results of my own research support such an ominous conclusion.

Robert F. Turner is a research associate at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University.

By D. Gareth Porter

ITHACA, N. Y. President Nixon now justifies continued United States military involvement in Vietnam in large part by portraying Vietnamese Communist leaders as bloodthirsty fanatics who would order a massive "bloodbath" against their former foes if they were to gain power in South Vietnam—one which would be even worse than the present daily bloodletting. In support of that argument, he has charged that the North Vietnamese Government carried out wholesale liquidations during the land reform from 1954 to 1956.

Nixon's charges, like similar allegations in secondary sources on the land reform, are based ultimately on a

single source: the book "From Colonialism to Communism" by Hoang Van Chi. A native of North Vietnam who left for Saigon early in 1955, Mr. Chi has been presented to the American public as an authoritative source on the land reform, with intimate knowledge of Communist party policy. But a careful examination of his account and of the original documents in Vietnamese discloses a series of distortions and fabrications which totally misrepresents the land reform program.

On the basis of Hoang Van Chi's gross mistranslations of key passages, General Vo Nguyen Giap's speech on land reform errors in October, 1956, has been quoted frequently as proof of

a reign of terror in the North. As translated by Mr. Chi, the speech appears to admit that terror, torture and execution of innocent people had been official policy. But in the original Vietnamese text, Giap says nothing of the sort. This complete alteration of Giap's statement was accomplished by no less than eight serious mistranslations in three sentences. This distortion by mistranslation was no mistake; Mr. Chi



ISSUES 1972

has now admitted, in an interview with The Washington Post, that he departed from an accurate translation in order to impart the "true meaning" of the documents in question.

In many cases, he has simply invented evidence to support his charges. For example, in order to prove that the purpose of the land reform was to physically destroy the landlord class, he quotes the main slogan of the land reform as exhorting cadres to "liquidate the landlords." But the slogan in question said, "Abolish the feudal regime of landownership in a manner that is discriminating, methodical and under sound leadership." In fact, only those landlords guilty of specific

STATINTL

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Why Frankie Wrote That Book About Vietnam

STATINTL

By Betty Flynn

NEW YORK — (CDN) — Frances Fitzgerald, at 31, is a woman of considerable beauty, education and impeccable social background.

The sort of tall, aristocratic blonde one would expect to find running charity balls in New York hotels or taking tennis lessons at the country club.

Instead, Miss Fitzgerald has emerged as the author of a book the major critics are hailing as the best book ever written about American involvement in Vietnam.

Its title is "Fire in the Lake: the Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam," a 441-page work recently published by Atlantic-Little Brown (\$12.50) which places the U.S. military presence in Vietnam against a complex background of Indochinese history, sociology, religion, culture and contemporary politics.

"When I went to Saigon first in 1966 as a free-lance journalist, I found a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland atmosphere — stupidly gay parties with rock bands and banquet-like meals, while outside death and destruction rained down," she said. "It was completely surreal.

"I thought at that point the trouble is nobody understands this place. If they only understood it better they wouldn't be doing these things. I thought I could explain some of these things."

Frankie, as she is known to her friends, decided to stay in Vietnam, and, for nearly a year, write about the war from the point of view of the Vietnamese for an odd assortment of publications — the Village Voice, Vogue, New York Times magazine and Atlantic Monthly among them.

Her reports were lucid and perceptive, and the society-girl-on-a-lark image gave way to a healthy respect from her military contacts and other journalists.

"It was a problem," she says now. "I'd been sent to a village 10 miles from Saigon in an insecure area — that means there are too

could feel the horror at what is that girl doing here?"

In a way, Miss Fitzgerald's background prepared her admirably for the kind of sophisticated, intellectual approach she has taken to her reporting and writing.

Born Oct. 21, 1940, in New York City, she was the first daughter of attorney Desmond Fitzgerald, Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency when he died in 1967, and Marietta Peabody, of the Massachusetts elite, liberal-minded Peabody family.

Her grandmother, Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, was arrested a few years back for participating in a Florida civil rights demonstration.

Her mother divorced Fitzgerald shortly after World War II and married Ronald Tree, a wealthy British businessman and former Member of Parliament.

They have another daughter, Penelope Tree, now 22.

Mrs. Tree was a close friend of Adlai Stevenson, and served as a special UN Representative when Stevenson was U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.

Frankie recalls touring Africa with Stevenson, her mother and a small group of friends in 1957 when she was 16.

"We wanted desperately to see what we jokingly called darkest Africa.

"Finally, in the Congo, the Belgian officials arranged for a small plane to take us out into the bush. For the first time all the women put on the safari clothes they had brought. We landed in the middle of a tiny airstrip—and there were a group of about 30 Belgian officials in white uniforms with their wives in these marvelous little pink linen pastel sheaths with pearls waiting to take us in a procession of Cadillacs past all these little school children waving flags.

"The procession went slowly to a Belgian official's villa where — waiting for us — was a dinner

Later in the same trip, the group visited Albert Schweitzer in what was then French Equatorial Africa.

"He came to the airport in these enormous canoes rowed by sweating natives," Frankie says. "He was a very old man at the time, tall, slender with that marvelous craggy Beethoven-like head but with finer features.

"By some error I got into the same boat with him. My French was not good then and we both were nervous. He just refused to speak."

She looks well in the tailored beige safari slack suit she is wearing, similar to the fatigues she often wore in Vietnam slogging through rice paddies to outlying hamlets.

Her hair is long, straight, streaky blonde, she has large, round blue-green eyes and wears very little makeup. Her manner is straightforward and confident.

"One has to come to some sort of terms with how you want to live and what you want to do," she says, sipping a beer between bites of a sandwich in a Broadway coffee shop.

"And when you do that you cut off a lot of choices. You're just not going to marry the boy you thought was so wonderful in college because he's probably now a dreary banker. You have to select your own spot in life."

Miss Fitzgerald has not yet married, but says she "doesn't rule it out."

"The trouble is when you find someone interesting and attractive, you may have an impossible life, the kind you just can't lead together. And age does narrow one's choices. On the other hand, so many of my friends who married early are now divorced because they didn't know what they were going to turn into."

She attended Dalton, and was graduated magna cum laude in 1962 from Radcliffe, where she majored in Middle Eastern History.

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continued

Counsel for the Defense (and the Offense)

STATINTL

Lawyer Ed Garvey's clients are the 1,100 members of the National Football League Players Association.

By William Gildea

At 9:35 a.m., in a crowded eighth-floor conference room of the Federal Communications Commission, Pete Rozelle—almighty father of professional football, eternally tanned and impeccably dressed—steps forward to defend his empire. He wants cable television short-circuited.

He argues it could pirate the signals of several games on any given Sunday in the NFL, resulting in orgies of TV football that would glut the appetites of his subjects and start the empire crumbling.

At 9:36, the rear door of the room opens and Ed Garvey steps in, almost unnoticed. He sits near the back of the room, listens intently to Rozelle, takes notes.

As the lords of the games file out the front door an hour later, their sad tales given, Ed Garvey straightens up, zippers his briefcase, and marches swiftly out the back door. He is now in excellent field position in the corridor, having staked out a place between Pete Rozelle and the elevator. Rozelle will not find it easy to avoid him this day.

"Rozelle comes here to talk about cable TV and the last person he wants to see is Ed Garvey," whispers a friend of Garvey's. "Garvey goes to New York and Rozelle never wants to see him. He's always busy."

Ed Garvey, 32, is the executive

director of the 1,100-member National Football League Players Association, the group that startled sports fans in the summer of 1970 by striking for higher pre-season salaries and an increase in pension fund payments. People were surprised because football players are supposed to play more for love, or for glory or for the Gipper, than for money.

But from 1956, when the old NFL found itself with its first players association, to January of 1970 when the AFL and NFL groups merged, the players have been trying to snatch away some of the controls the National Football League exercises over their lives.

For the past year and a half, Garvey has organized the players as never before, making it a whole new NFL ballgame which often finds Rozelle, long known for his big offensive game, suddenly on the defensive. A non-player, Garvey nevertheless shows excellent moves in the FCC hallways.

He walks over to a New York Times reporter, Leonard Koppett, who just happens to be talking with Pete Rozelle. Now Garvey is talking with the two of them. Now he is talking only with Rozelle. Now he and Rozelle are closeted in an anteroom, seated and talking earnestly in forced communion. Score one for Garvey. "He's a bugger, he just wants Rozelle to know he's around," Garvey's friend says.

Garvey had come to the cable TV hearing "to see if Rozelle would give some indication of his

thinking about future television contracts. But he didn't. At the present time he does all the bargaining with the networks and our position is that no one knows what breakthroughs are going to occur in pay TV and we don't want him to get locked in on a long-term contract that may not turn out to be the best thing. We feel we should have a role in these negotiations."

Garvey first got involved with the Players Association when John Mackey, then with the Baltimore Colts and head of the group, brought in the law firm of Lindquist and Vennum to represent the players in their 1970 contract bargaining. Garvey was one of the Lindquist and Vennum team and, when the strike was over, he remained with the group as their counsel.

The name of the business being money, Garvey's principal concern is the "players not getting their share of the exorbitant profits within football," a viewpoint diametrically opposite of Rozelle's.

Rozelle, Garvey says, is an amiable fellow and it is "not unreasonable if he isn't overly solicitous considering that we slapped a lawsuit on him just last month."

In addition to the suit, which is an attempt to stop the League from naming compensation for players who've played out their options, there is also the small matter of five charges of unfair practices against the NFL that Garvey has taken before the National Labor Relations Board on

William Gildea is a columnist on the staff of the Sports Department of The Washington Post.

It's Not the Gift, It's the Thought Behind It

By JOHN LEONARD

Foundation money! Encounter magazine! Angry intellectuals! It's the socio-literary late show, a rerun of the anxious 1960's in the disconsolate 1970's—complete with hot and cold running warriors athwart their mimeograph machines.

You will remember that Encounter, the British monthly, was subsidized until 1964 by the Congress for Cultural Freedom—to the tune of \$15,000 a year. In 1966 the Congress for Cultural Freedom was revealed to have been subsidized by our own Central Intelligence Agency. On being horrified by this bad news, people like Stephen Spender and Frank Kermode—who had been categorically denying rumors of such a covert subsidy for years—resigned from Encounter's editorial board. The Congress for Cultural Freedom then reconstituted itself as the International Association for Cultural Freedom and went right on subsidizing a variety of journals in Australia (Quadrant), France (Preuves), Germany (Monat), Great Britain (The China Quarterly, Survey, Minerva), India (Quest), Latin America (Mundo Nuevo, Aportes), Uganda (Transition) and Thailand (Social Science Review).

At just about the time that Encounter stopped getting subsidies from the C.I.A., it started getting them from Cecil King's International Publishing Corporation of London (The Daily Mirror, etc.). Mr. King's group recently allowed its financial backing to lapse, and the magazine has been hard put to meet its publication costs. Who should come to the rescue? The Ford Foundation, that's who. The Ford Foundation has forwarded \$50,000 of "emergency assistance" to Encounter, through what in the 1960's we used to call a "conduit"—in this case, the International Association for Cultural Freedom. Interesting.

Such emergency assistance is considered especially interesting by the editors of and contributors to domestic literary magazines. It is interesting because the Ford Foundation has never given any money to local journals. It is even more interesting because the Ford money has been specifically earmarked to "seek increased circulation in the United States" for Encounter. The editors of The Massachusetts Review (Jules Chametzky), The Sewanee Review (Andrew Lytle), The

The Last Word

Hudson Review (Frederick Morgan), The Partisan Review (William Phillips) and Tri-Quarterly (Charles Newman) have protested: "This grant, by an organization that on many previous occasions has claimed a lack of funds for the support of American literary magazines, is grossly insulting to American editors and writers. It is also damaging to American literary magazines in putting them at a competitive disadvantage. . . . We are made uneasy, as well, by the political implications of this effort to promote and expand Encounter's influence in this country." Jules Feiffer, Susan Sontag, Frank Kermode (!), Robert Brustein, Norman Mailer and William Styron are among the writers who have joined these editors in objection.

In June of this year James Boatwright, speaking for the Co-ordinating Council of Literary Magazines, also objected to the Encounter grant in a letter to the President of the Ford Foundation, McGeorge Bundy. Mr. Boatwright was coolly diplomatic: "Some of our members regard the grant as a scandal." However, "We prefer to place a more positive interpretation upon the grant and believe that it really signifies that the Ford Foundation is now prepared to give support to literary magazines, even American ones." And especially American ones that "do not have the same legacy as Encounter to overcome."

Mr. Bundy, in his reply to Mr. Boatwright, was sophisticated: "There are essentially two parts to your letter—one relating to the view which your members have of Encounter, and the other relating to general support to non-profit literary magazines published in the United States. These are really two subjects, and as it happens they are treated in two different parts of the Ford Foundation." It seems that the grant to Encounter was recommended by the Ford Foundation's professional staff in their office of European and

International Affairs, whereas policies having to do with American literary magazines are determined by Ford's division of the Humanities and the Arts. As it happens, the division of the Humanities and the Arts feels that its money is better spent on direct and indirect grants to poets, novelists and playwrights; on post-doctoral fellowships through the American Council of Learned Societies; and on playwrights' workshops, experimental theaters and full-scale producing companies. Alas, "the Foundation is not currently planning a program in the field of your direct activity."

To be sure, some of the protesting about the Foundation's "emergency assistance" sounds a little too much like local craft unions complaining about low tariffs on digital clock radios from Japan. And the Foundation's division of the Humanities and the Arts may very well be right in thinking that grants to individuals are a more effective way of promoting art than grants to magazines. And Encounter is now and always was an excellent magazine, one of the C.I.A.'s better investments—it has distinguished itself particularly in its emphasis on science.

But it is hard to see why arguments that are compelling in one part of the Ford Foundation are not compelling in another part. If it's all right to subsidize a European magazine, why is it not all right to subsidize an American magazine? Unless the grant to Encounter is considered to be singular, aberrant, exceptional, and if it is to be considered an exception, why? Why, of all the magazines in the world that have never been or are no longer subsidized by the C.I.A., does only Encounter rate \$50,000?

Those editors and writers who are protesting cannot be blamed for suspecting that there is something political about making an exception of Encounter. While Encounter's contributors often disagree, occasionally savagely, with one another, on the whole the magazine has been much more congenial to American foreign policy over the last decade than most American literary magazines have been. Inevitably, conclusions are going to be drawn about the Ford Foundation's understanding of its own role in sanctioning one sort of politicization of literature over another. Those conclusions are not exactly pleasant to behold. ■

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What's Behind Aid to Greece?

There is a most disturbing report prepared for the House foreign affairs subcommittee on Europe and recently made public that strongly intimates private financial interests are heavily influencing the Nixon Administration's attitude toward Greek colonels who control the country through force.

The primary figure who isn't so shadowy is supposed to be Thomas Pappas, a Greek-American from Boston with heavy interests in the Esso-Pappas refining, petrochemical and steel complex. The report claims that maintaining the junta in power is important to Pappas' financial interests; that he has made extensive contributions to the Republican party and is executive chairman of the Republican finance committee; and that he even had a voice in picking Spiro Agnew as Vice Presidential candidate. The report also says he was partly responsible for the choice of Henry Tasar as American Ambassador to Greece and accompanied such Nixon Administration brass as Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird on their visits to Athens. It is not easy to forget Secretary Stans' enthusiastic comments about the stability of the current junta and the "wonderfully close relations that exist today between our two countries."

The House of Representatives recently voted that American military aid to Greece should be cut off since the junta had not fulfilled its promise to encourage more democratic trends. The law does permit such aid if the President of the United States believes our national security is involved.

The mere fact that a particular regime does not follow completely our beliefs in democracy and civil rights is not enough for us to cut off diplomatic or trade relations or to refuse to supply loans and grants, even for military

government to every country in the world with vastly different traditions and histories than those of our own. Our national security involving Greece may require continued financial support because of Greece's position in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. And the same might apply for Turkey. Our bases in Spain may warrant our assistance to that dictatorship and we have had reasons for some help to Yugoslavia and Taiwan, neither of which are remotely democracies.

But if there is a hint that our aid is in reality a financial boost to one particular American or even a group of Americans, then every other American who pays his taxes ought to resent it deeply. No one should know this better than President Nixon, whatever the possible monetary benefits to the Republican party. And it should be noted that this particular problem has not been restricted to the Republicans. Heavy political contributors often expect to influence domestic and foreign policies.

The dangers in the current Greek situation is that it may boomrang. There appears to be deep opposition to the colonels' junta, although many of the dissidents are in prison. According to Lucia Movat in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "congressional investigations have confirmed that the Pappas brothers' foundations had been used as conduits by the Central Intelligence Agency." Pappas institutions in Greece also have been sabotaged by what are believed to be opponents of the regime.

The junta has tried to justify its seizure of the government more than three years ago with the often-used charge of the dangers of communism. Ironically such dangers may be greater today than then, especially if there is widespread belief that a few American pocketbooks are being padded to keep

COMMENTARY

STATINTL

Interrupting its usual silence, the CIA has provided Harper's with a rare public document. It is an official letter of protest against our July cover story, "Flowers of Evil," an extremely compromising report by Alfred W. McCoy about the CIA's complicity in the heroin trade in Southeast Asia. "I trust," writes W. E. Colby, the Agency's executive director, "you will give this response the same prominence in your publication as was given to the McCoy article."

The letter appears below in full, together with Mr. McCoy's reply and the testimony of a former USAID representative who witnessed the CIA's participation in the Laotian drug traffic. This exchange, we hope, throws further needed light on a little-known stretch of the sewer that runs between Washington, Saigon, Vientiane, Phnompenh, and Bangkok.

Beyond all that, we are surprised by Mr. Colby's use of the word "trust." We may well be reading too much into it, but that word, and indeed the whole tone of the letter, suggests that Mr. Colby expected an immediate mea culpa from Harper's. Is the CIA that naïve? Mr. Colby, who once presided over the notorious Phoenix program in Vietnam,* is hardly an innocent. Still, his entire letter reflects a troubling simplicity, an unquestioning trust in the goodness of his own bureaucracy. He asks us to share that trust, whatever the stubborn facts may be. As conclusive evidence of the Agency's purity, for example, he even cites Director Richard Helms' public-relations argument that "as fathers, we are as concerned about the lives of our children and grandchildren as all of you."

Such curious expectations of trust apparently motivated the Agency to ask Harper & Row to hand over the galleys of Mr. McCoy's book, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, from which he drew his magazine article. The Agency declared that it simply wanted to check the book for factual inaccuracies, possible libel, or damage to national security. To deliver this unusual request, the Agency dispatched Cord Meyer, a man with the proper Establishment connections who, as the CIA's overseer of the since-transformed Congress for Cultural Freedom,** might be said to have once been in the publishing business himself. Although the galleys were duly sent to the Agency, the CIA's subsequent complaints about Mr. McCoy's research failed to impress Harper & Row, which has since confidently published the book, unchanged. Apparently there are limits to trust, even among gentlemen.

Although Mr. McCoy won't agree with us, our own reaction to this episode is to feel a certain sympathy for the beset bureaucrats of the CIA, who seem to be impaled on the defensive notion, "The Agency, right or wrong." By definition the CIA finds itself involved with a good many questionable people in Southeast Asia. That is a condition of its mission—a mission it did not invent but simply carries out on White House orders—and we suspect that the public would trust the Agency a good deal more if it either acknowledged the facts or remained silent. Alas, the CIA now seems determined to revamp its image into something like a cross between General Motors and the League of Women Voters. But so endeth our sermon. Let the reader draw his own conclusions.

THE AGENCY'S BRIEF:

Harper's July issue contains an article by Mr. Alfred W. McCoy alleging CIA involvement in the opium traffic in Laos. This allegation is false and unfounded, and it is particularly disappointing that a journal of Harper's reputation would see fit to publish it without any effort to check its accuracy or even to refer to the

public record to the contrary.

Normally we do not respond publicly to allegations made against CIA. Because of the serious nature of these charges, however, I am writing to you to place these accusations in proper perspective and so that the record will be clear.

The general charge made by Mr.

McCoy that "to a certain extent it [the opium trade in Laos] depends on the support (money, guns, aircraft, etc.) of the CIA" has no basis in fact. To the contrary, Mr. John E. Ingersoll, Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, in a letter to Representative Charles S. Gubser of California on May 27, 1971

*Phoenix is a campaign of systematic counterterrorism designed to root out and destroy Vietcong sympathizers. As U.S. pacification chief from 1968 to mid-1971, Ambassador Colby headed CORDS (Civil Operations and Rural Development Support), which ran Phoenix in cooperation with the South Vietnamese police. Mr. Colby has testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that, in 1969 alone, Phoenix agents "neutralized" 19,531 suspected Vietcong, killing 6,187 of them in the process. Critics argue that Phoenix uses assassination methods and that Mr. Colby's figures are extremely conservative.

**The GCF, among other activities, at one time published a dozen or so serious anti-Communist magazines throughout the world. The best known is *Encounter*, which now has a different sponsor.

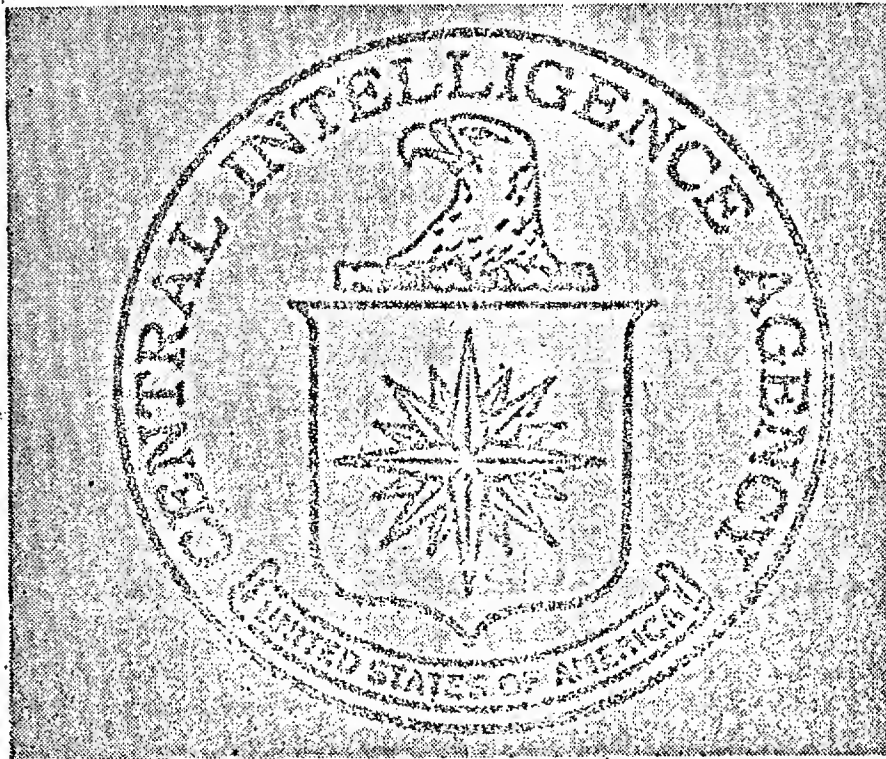
month people here, though. We always look for good people.

THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE DARTMOUTH

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In Washington

American Intelligence CIA Presence on



By VICTOR ZONANA
and PHILIP COHEN

Although most people are aware that the United States Armed Forces recruit personnel at the College, it would probably come as a surprise to most to learn that another government agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, quietly but actively recruits on the campus as well.

Some aspects of CIA activity are:

1) One member of the Class of 1971 was introduced to the CIA by a faculty member and is presently employed by that agency.

2) At least three members of the faculty and one member of the Board of Trustees have at one time worked for the CIA. Several other faculty members were employed by CIA "front" organizations.

3) The agency worked through a "contact" at the College, a faculty member, until 1967.

4) The CIA has on several occasions approached faculty members going abroad, and asked them to obtain information while travelling overseas.

5) A significant number of Dartmouth alumni are presently employed by the CIA.

min Bates '71 is presently working for the CIA at the agency headquarters in Langley, Virginia, doing economic research on Latin America. Contacted in Washington last week, Bates confirmed this report, saying that he'd been "working with the agency since September." He termed the job "reasonably interesting, but not fascinating."

Bates, an economics major while at the College, reported that Professor Colin Campbell of the Economics Department introduced him to a CIA recruiter last winter. After a preliminary meeting with the recruiter (a Dartmouth alumnus) at the Hanover Inn, Bates said he was flown to Washington at government expense for interviews and testing.

Bates called his four day stay in the nation's capital during spring break "sort of a free vacation." He began working in September after being granted security clearance.

Professor Campbell

Professor of Economics Colin Campbell, who termed himself "an old alumnus of the CIA," agreed with Bates. Campbell worked for the organization as an economic researcher in Current Intelligence during the Korean War, from 1952 through

Elaborating on Bates' description of last year's meeting, Campbell said, "I

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vision: it was sort of an Ivy League club, with most people from Yale, Dartmouth, Harvard or Princeton."

Campbell added that it may have changed since his time, "but there were very many Dartmouth graduates there, and a lot of them were way up there, in pretty important positions."

Other Faculty Members

A colleague of Campbell's Professor of Economics Meredith Clement, also worked for the agency. Clement did economic research for the CIA, from 1954 to 1956, before coming to the College.

Clement said that the CIA regularly approached university professors going overseas on academic matters, as one means of obtaining information on foreign countries. He explained that the process was known in the agency as "briefing and debriefing."

"Being briefed," he elaborated, "is being told what to look for, while being debriefed is being asked what you saw. Clement said he knows of two Dartmouth alumni now working for the CIA.

Assistant Professor of Geography, David Lindgren, was employed by the CIA from 1964 through 1966 before coming to the College. He served as an analyst doing basic geographic re-

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Benjamin

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It was learned recently that a senior at the College last year, Benja-

Candidate Critical Of Nixon Policy

Jed Reveals His CIA Past

By STEVE DIMICK
Of The Journal Staff

U. S. senatorial hopeful Jed Johnson spent more than two years as an undercover agent for the Central Intelligence Agency during the early 1960s, he said Friday.

Johnson said he carried on CIA activities in more than a dozen Asian, African and Latin American countries while working for one of the front organizations exposed in the "CIA on campus" scandals in 1967.

The former Sixth District congressman Friday released a copy of a speech he will deliver to the Oklahoma Jaycees convention Saturday, in which he reveals his CIA involvement.

He said a controversial trip to Cuba he made while a student at Oklahoma University which was later thrown back at him during his 1964 congressional race, also was actually a government-sponsored "intelligence-gathering" trip.

In his speech to the Jaycees, Johnson will attack President Nixon's new interdiction policy against North Vietnamese supply routes. He bases his criticism largely on his knowledge of the CIA, which reportedly has claimed that the blockade will not work.

Johnson quotes from the "Kissinger Papers," a secret government study conducted by the CIA and other information gathering groups and made public by columnist Jack Anderson two weeks ago. The study reported the CIA's belief that no amount of interdiction will be successful in stopping the flow of war materiel to North Vietnam.

"I am personally acquainted in some depth with the degree of precision that the CIA operates within its intelligence activities, because I worked under contract as a covert agent for the CIA prior to my election to the Congress," Johnson said.

"At that time, the CIA had extremely detailed information on such things as which hand an obscure African provincial chief would eat with and the vintage of his favorite wines," he said.

"I am convinced after reading the Kissinger Papers that the CIA estimates of our capacity to interdict supplies was done with similar attention to precision and gave absolutely no reason for encouragement that this military action will successfully bring the war to a conclusion."

In an interview with The Oklahoma Journal before his announcement Saturday, Johnson said he worked for the CIA from 1962 to 1964. He said his experience as an agent has caused him to have "complete faith" in the CIA's assessments of various situations and in the agency's non-partisan position.

"I know that the CIA is very, very meticulous and careful in its evaluations and is accurate and precise," he said.

"The point is, if the CIA has given such an evaluation (of the Vietnam blockade), I know they've done a thorough assessment of the situation. They're very capable people and are not political; they're very apolitical."

"While I was never involved in CIA operations in Southeast Asia, I know personally that they literally can tell you the minutest details about minor African political figures and I'm sure they have done the same type of investigation in Vietnam," Johnson said.

Johnson said he was not at liberty to disclose his former CIA ties while he was a member of Congress because the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, the dummy foundation for which he worked, was still in business.

"For me to say anything would have literally endangered the lives of some of our people overseas," he said.

He came back to the U.S. early in 1964, on leave from the Foundation, and then resigned from the organization before he made his successful race for Congress.

Johnson served in Congress from 1964-66. He said the "whistle was blown" on the cover of the dummy foundation in 1967.

"I'm still not sure how much I'm at liberty to tell you," he said.

The former student leader at the University of Oklahoma said he was approached by the CIA (referred to among agents as "the firm") in 1962, a year after his graduation from college.

"They contacted you to see if you were interested and then did a very thorough security clearance," he said. "Later, you were taken to a hotel room where you had to sign an oath saying you would not divulge any secrets or critical information."

"After that, I was what they call 'under contract' to the CIA until I resigned," he said.

"It was fascinating work," he said. "If I hadn't run for Congress, I might have made a career out of the CIA."

Johnson said he actually worked for the U.S. Youth Council, which was funded by the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, which in turn was funded by the CIA.

His duties, about which he was never too specific, involved basically being a sort of goodwill ambassador-cum-spy.

"I led delegations of young Americans to developing nations and spoke before various legislative assemblies," he said. "We met with leaders of countries, presidents, prime ministers."

"Once at an Indian Youth Congress in Tirupathi, India, I debated a couple of older

Communist officials," he said.

"I also did get information on what the political ideology was of up-and-coming political leaders," he said.

Johnson balked at the word "propaganda" when asked whether his job entailed more gathering of information or disseminating propaganda.

"It involved a lot of both," he said. "But we were never told what to say by the CIA. We were never given any orders about what to say in a speech."

"I was simply a youth leader telling them what we believe, why our economic system is the most productive, why our political system is the best."

Johnson's undercover activity began when he was still in college, with a 1959 trip to Cuba which later returned to haunt him during his congressional race in 1964.

"There were charges made during the campaigning that I had taken this trip with other student leaders in defiance of the State Department," he said. "This was untrue. The trip was sponsored by the U.S. government."

"I was asked by people in the State Department to make the trip to get information about what was going on," he said.

At the time the group of young student leaders made the trip, shortly after the Cuban revolution, "we didn't know that things in Cuba would go the way they went," Johnson said.

He said another of his missions was to debate young Communist leaders in Cuba.

However, he was not able to reveal in 1964 that he had known in 1959 that the Cuban trip was a government-sponsored one.

"It was a very interesting experience, but it was frustrating that I couldn't rebut some of the charges made against me," he said.

"As a result of that trip and some other activities I was involved in, I was later asked to become an agent for the CIA."

During his years as an agent, under the code name "Mr. Page" ("I chose that name because I had been a page in the Senate and thought it would be easy to remember"), he was at liberty to tell only his wife of his activities.

"There were a couple of agents before me who had just disappeared," he said.

Johnson says he still has faith in the persuasive and example type of diplomacy, the former the kind he said is practiced by the CIA.

CIA 2.04.2 Students
Foundation

May 1, 1972

exist, that the cold war with Russia and the other Communist countries is not any better. It is naïve for us to think that love and peace are in the offing. I do not disagree with that.

We have many problems with Russia, but I submit that one of the obstacles to better relations with Eastern Europe and Russia and most of those other countries—although I think our relations have improved over time—but in any case, among the principal irritants are these broadcasts from Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. They contribute to keeping alive the animosity and suspicion which exists between our country and Russia. I said before with regard to Radio Free Europe it seemed to me with the President going to Russia and having just been to China, and having announced a policy of trying to normalize and improve relations with those countries that it is inconsistent to continue a propaganda program designed to arouse the suspicion of the people of those countries against their governments.

I do not think it accomplishes our purposes; it harms our relations. I can well imagine that there are people in Russia who disagree with their leaders' policy of meeting with the President of the United States and who make the same arguments that are made on the floor of this body that there is no hope for better relations with the United States, or that they are kidding themselves to think they can do business with the United States. One of the things they would point out would be the propaganda we engage in.

It has always puzzled me why the Russians have such suspicion with regard to the SALT talks. They had one meeting interrupted by the U-2 incident. Those not disposed to normalized relations with us can point to the Voice of America and Radio Liberty and say, "They do not really mean it, they are kidding us. They continue the old war-time programs of propaganda intended to undermine the stability of our government."

I ask very seriously on the merits whether the program is well designed to accomplish the announced purposes of the President and what I believe to be the overwhelming view of the people of the United States, and that is to bring about better relations with the people of Russia, China, and Eastern Europe.

It seems to me it is high time in this world with nuclear weapons that some other approach to the solution of these international differences be developed; that greater emphasis be placed on co-operation and discussion such as the United Nations offers, than to keep alive the traditional anticommunism which we have been subjected to for so long, to keep that alive by spending \$200 million in this case, and many millions of dollars more in the case of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. I am not under any illusion it is going to be easy, but I think some different approach than the one we have had is called for.

Mr. President, I referred earlier to an article by Bruce J. Oudes, who, I see, served with the USIA overseas from

1961 to 1965 and is now an international reporting fellow at Columbia University. So he speaks from substantial experience in the USIA.

Mr. President, the article entitled "The Great Wind Machine" relates to the problem I am talking about and that is the value of the USIA itself.

Just to give a sample of the article, I wish to read one part:

Much of the time there is a gnawing suspicion that whatever the project of the day might be, you're participating in a giant charade, a hoax.

"What am I doing here?" is a question that often intrudes in the mind of the USIA officer as he goes about his appointed rounds. Why was I hauling those pamphlets across the Sahara? In time the two of us delivered our "freight"—the agency term for its message—to the American Embassy in Nouakchott, and it was duly distributed to its Mauritanian audience. Yet it is hard to imagine that any minds were altered by our pamphlets, either among the illiterate nomads who make up most of the population, or among the tiny literate ruling class, whose ears are tuned to Cairo and Paris. Certainly our message did not prevent Mauritania's rulers from breaking relations with the U.S. during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. And why was I hustling votes for Moise Tshombe in the Congo? Tshombe won the election with American help, but not because of anything USIA did; the constituency that mattered was the white mercenaries, who voted with their guns, and the kind of U.S. help that mattered was money and arms, and planes supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency. If we won any votes in Katanga, which I doubt, they weren't counted—that's not how power is won and lost in the Congo. Thus the USIA officer's self-criticism centers around feelings of futility; harmless in Mauritania, but distasteful in the Congo.

USIA produces a lot of noise. Whether that noise wins any hearts and minds out there is a question to which, fortunately for the agency, there is no statistical answer—for propaganda, unlike soap, cannot be measured in bars sold.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the full article by Mr. Oudes.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE GREAT WIND MACHINE

(By Bruce J. Oudes)

The sight of a wheel rolling off into the desert is of distinct interest if it is one of four carrying you to Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania.

It happened the visit was a goodwill, more correctly a misguided will, mission. The occasion, replete with rising sandstorm, provided time and conditions for a unique reassessment of the heavy cargo, principally hundreds of pounds of pamphlets explaining the American way of life, which had contributed to the breakdown.

My companion, who had been sent from Washington to see if the United States Information Agency (USIA) was hitting the "target" in West Africa, blew the sand off a brochure on the American economy, one which described the marvelous Detroit motor vehicle, and broke up laughing.

On another occasion, the scene was the Congo and my companion was an American newsmagazine correspondent. We spent a rather wry afternoon driving around the precincts of Katanga distributing a station-wagon load of American-produced "get out the vote" leaflets in Swahili in preparation for an election which, to no one's surprise,

ratified Moise Tshombe as the Congo's Prime Minister.

Any officer in USIA has a store of such stories. They are rooted in the frustration of determining the message, the audience, and how the audience is supposed to react to the message. Much of the time there is a gnawing suspicion that whatever the project of the day might be, you're participating in a giant charade, a hoax.

"What am I doing here?" is a question that often intrudes in the mind of the USIA officer as he goes about his appointed rounds. Why was I hauling those pamphlets across the Sahara? In time the two of us delivered our "freight"—the agency term for its message—to the American Embassy in Nouakchott, and it was duly distributed to its Mauritanian audience. Yet it is hard to imagine that any minds were altered by our pamphlets, either among the illiterate nomads who make up most of the population, or among the tiny literate ruling class, whose ears are tuned to Cairo and Paris. Certainly our message did not prevent Mauritania's rulers from breaking relations with the U.S. during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. And why was I hustling votes for Moise Tshombe in the Congo? Tshombe won the election with American help, but not because of anything USIA did; the constituency that mattered was the white mercenaries, who voted with their guns, and the kind of U.S. help that mattered was money and arms, and planes supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency. If we won any votes in Katanga, which I doubt, they weren't counted—that's not how power is won and lost in the Congo. Thus the USIA officer's self-criticism centers around feelings of futility; harmless in Mauritania, but distasteful in the Congo.

The agency that sends its people on such missions is a 17-year-old cold war hybrid, the descendant of the World War I George Creel committee and then in World War II the Overseas Operations Branch in Elmer Davis's Office of War Information. At the end of the war OWI was transferred to the State Department where William Benton, the advertising man, later a U.S. Senator, nursed it for two years. As the cold war got underway, Benton's office drafted a bill which became the Smith-Mundt Act and put propaganda permanently into the American defense arsenal. Under the Eisenhower Administration in June, 1953, John Foster Dulles rid his beloved State Department of the dirty linen of propaganda work and the name U.S. Information Agency was born. The USIA budget passed the \$100 million mark during the Eisenhower years and floated up to its present \$175 million mark during the two subsequent Democratic Administrations.

Today USIA produces 66 magazines in 27 languages. Its Voice of America broadcasts 932 hours weekly in nearly three dozen languages using 104 transmitters with a total of 19 million watts. It has assisted foreign book publishers in producing more than 120 million copies of over 14,000 editions since 1950. It operates more than 22 libraries visited by 20 million or more persons annually (down from over 31 million in 1955). It radioteletypes abroad a 10,000-word daily file of Administration statements and packaged stories ready for foreign newspapers to lunk in their columns. It does all this with a staff of 2,139 Foreign Service personnel, a total which will be reduced to about 1,760 by mid-year by Presidential order. Foreign Service personnel, however, are substantially outnumbered by the 2,410 permanent Washington-based employees who try to communicate America to a world they never see.

USIA produces a lot of noise. Whether that noise wins any hearts and minds out there is a question to which, fortunately for the agency, there is no statistical answer—for propaganda, unlike soap, cannot be measured in bars sold. True believers in the agency pro-

27 APR 1971

The Washington Merry-Go-Round*Telltale Traces of CIA Cache Found**By Jack Anderson*

My associate Les Whitten has just returned from a treasure hunt for buried CIA cash in the Florida Keys where pirates once stashed Spanish gold.

He found one cache where thousands in molding \$20 bills had been buried. But someone had reached the secret site ahead of him. All Whitten found were six weathered, matted \$20 bills that apparently had been dropped about 200 yards away.

In an earlier column, we reported that the Central Intelligence Agency had delivered bales of \$20 bills to Cuban exile leaders to finance clandestine operations against Communist Cuba.

Assassination teams, sabotage squads and commando units were sent against Castro after the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion. These missions apparently were halted after President Kennedy's assassination. But the CIA continued to slip infiltration teams into Cuba to gather intelligence.

The CIA paid all expenses, apparently, in cash. Huge sums were turned over to exile leaders, who gave no accounting of how they spent it.

There were whispers that some money had disappeared into private bank accounts, that other thousands were bur-

ied in former pirate lairs in the Florida keys.

Secret CIA Site

One who perked up his ears over the whispers was Bradley Ayers, a former Army captain, who was on loan to the CIA in 1963-64 to train Cuban assault teams. One training site had been located on Upper Key Largo on land that the Monroe County tax assessor's office identified as belonging to the University of Miami.

The CIA also operated out of a front, called Zenith Technical Enterprises, on the university's south campus. Thus the respected university, wittingly or otherwise, provided the site for an extension course in infiltration and demolition.

Ayers learned enough from his former trainees to figure out where some of the CIA money might be hidden. He told us he discovered a half-buried suitcase full of molding, mutilated \$20 bills.

The suitcase was in a remote spot that he was confident wouldn't be discovered. He took out a dozen bills to make sure they weren't counterfeit. Banks redeemed all but two badly weathered \$20 bills.

Then Ayers' house was mysteriously broken into and records of his find were taken. Fearing the CIA or Cuban exiles were watching him, he dared not return to the cache.

However, he told us his story and showed us the bank records. We also checked out his veracity carefully. I sent Les Whitten to accompany him back to the keys to recover the CIA money. We notified the Treasury Department, in general terms, that all recovered CIA cash would be turned over to the Treasury.

Treasure Hunt

Whitten, Ayers and Ayers' wife flew to an air strip on Upper Key Largo. Using it as a base of operations, they reconnoitered the dark mangrove thickets, sluggish canals, treacherous swamps of sea grass and crocodile-infested creeks where Ayers had once trained Cuban commandos.

For two days, they chugged through the creeks in a shallow-draft 18-foot skiff, startled occasionally by the barks of crocodiles. When they were convinced no one was following, they plunged through underbrush so thick they couldn't see four feet ahead.

Finally they came upon the bramble-cloaked site where Ayers said he had discovered the suitcase. The soil at the hiding place had been turned up and sifted for 10 yards in all directions. The underbrush and sea grass were trampled as if by many feet.

The suitcase full of currency was gone. Disappointed, they combed the area. Within a quarter mile, Whitten spotted a tattered \$20 bill. Ayers found two more, then Whitten

discovered a sheaf of three bills matted together with mud and grass.

The bills were near scraps of a road map, which Ayers said had been used as a wrapper for the suitcase bills. Treasury records show the bills were printed between April, 1966, and August, 1968. There is no way to prove this was part of the money which the CIA continued to provide anti-Castro exiles. But the stories that led to the cache came in part to Ayers from Cubans he helped train for the CIA.

Washington Whirl

Volunteer Army—President Nixon is leading the opposition to his own proposal for a volunteer Army—at least for the next two years. At a secret White House legislative conference, he warned GOP congressional leaders: "Some votes to end the draft may look popular temporarily. But in the long view, our recommendations (to extend the draft for two years) will prove to be right." White House aide Peter Flanagan explained to the leaders that "A short-fall of 100,000 men is expected" next year. He described the administration's plans to encourage volunteers by offering financial incentives, including a \$3,000 bonus to those who will re-enlist for combat duty. But he warned this "would mean cuts in other vital areas in the Defense Department."

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Years of Greek Masses

By Dan Georgakas

Since its seizure of power in April 1967, the military dictatorship in Greece has followed a path seeking to transform that country into a virtual colony of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time the junta has sought, with much less success, to crush the Greek resistance movement.

U.S. aid to the military regime has continued without interruption in spite of congressional acts to delay shipment of certain heavy weapons. The U.S. government's enthusiasm for the regime was reinforced when Spiro Agnew visited Greece in the summer of 1971 amid great fanfare.

Agnew's visit was followed by an agreement that Athens would become a new official home port for the U.S. Mediterranean fleet. This will mean tens of millions of dollars annually for the troubled Greek economy. In February, President Nixon released all frozen aid to Greece, including the shipment of new jets.

The brazen Nixon blessing of the fascist junta is the final flower of long-standing U.S. policy. The first overt interference came in 1948 when Truman ordered massive military assistance to the royalist government. This aid, which included the experimental use of napalm, coupled with conflict within the socialist world over Tito's struggle with Stalin led to the defeat of the Greek left in the civil war. Tens of thousands of patriots went into exile and an equal number were jailed.

The 1950s were dominated by the governments of Costas Karamanlis who ruled with a tough hand and full U.S. support. Even during this period, however, officers within the Greek military developed clandestine groups with ties to U.S. intelligence. These men were trained in the U.S. By the early 1960s when the Greek masses were again in motion, the CIA contact man in Greece was George Papadopoulos who would emerge as the junta strong man.

CIA line wins out

For a time U.S. policy was undecided between the State Department's trust that George and Andreas Papandreou could keep Greece dependable while retaining the form of parliamentary democracy and the CIA's desire to insure dependency with its colonels. The debate was won by the CIA when it became clear that the general elections scheduled for May 1967 would bring the center and left some 80 percent of the vote with great expectation from the masses of fundamental changes. The colonels were given the go-ahead to use NATO weapons and a NATO contingency plan to take over the government.

The colonels moved swiftly to crush opposition through a policy of torture, exile and imprisonment. Every public and private organization was purged of persons with any connection to the mildest progressive forces in Greece. This ruthless disregard of national interest was masked by a pseudo-nationalist jargon about "Greek Orthodox Christian purity" which not even the colonels took seriously.

A key man during these events was Tom Pappas, the Boston industrialist who raised over \$1 million from Greek shipowners for the Nixon-Agnew election campaign. Pappas has the Standard Oil franchise in Greece and his foundations have been identified as CIA conduits. The expatriate Greek millionaire group he heads has

been the main beneficiary of the coup. Stavros Niarchos and Aristotle Onassis have received huge tax concessions to get them to invest in Greece. Less well known figures from the group have gotten similar privileges.

One of the latest junta giveaways has been to place all publicly owned land in Greece up for auction. This amounts to millions of acres and thousands of islands and islets. Most of this land will end up in the hands of the expatriate millionaires and their friends. Another example of junta financing is the building of tourist complexes at public expense and then leasing them to private parties for management and profit. Thus the junta's vaunted drive against corruption has amounted to little less than the replacement of the royalist cliques by the colonels' own coterie of rural gentry, nouveau riche and international capitalists.

No popular support

Popular support for the regime has remained nil. Not a single prominent political figure of pre-junta Greece, whether rightist, leftist, or centerist, has been won over. Less than ten deputies from the last legal parliament have collaborated. Recently two archbishops and sixty bishops took public positions against the regime.

Such conservative and somewhat "safe" protests reflect the general mood of the nation. The funeral of George Papandreou, the last legal premier, was turned into a huge anti-government rally when hundreds of thousands shouted the slogans which had terrorized the Greek establishment in the early and middle 1960s. Every such gathering is a tinderbox carefully guarded by the police and army. Even a film as innocuous as Woodstock had to be banned because peace slogans and wild cheering took place in the theater when Jimi Hendrix rendered his parody of the American National Anthem. Only constant surveillance, arrests, beatings and torture keep the superficial impression of tranquility.

While worldwide pressure has brought the release of many prisoners and an abatement in torture, the resistance has not very effectively taken advantage of the junta's massive unpopularity. There has been no significant clandestine organization of workers, no rural guerrillas, only limited urban warfare and no large-scale participation of youth who were the spearhead of the movement in the 1960s.

Much of this failure can be traced to the disillusionment felt by the masses toward all pre-junta figures and organizations. The king, his clique and the right wing are blamed for setting the conditions of the junta in the first place. The center is thought to be mainly a movement of only rhetorical struggle. The greatest disillusionment, however, is with the organized left. Almost all cadres of the Communist party and the United Democratic Left were completely unprepared for the coup, despite prior warning signs.

The collapse of the left can be traced to a large extent to the ineffective popular front tactics of the left. Unprepared to seek power in their own name, their resistance activities have been primarily verbal, emphasizing the political prisoner issue and sentimental feelings about Greece rather than engaging in class politics with immediate socialist goals.

The United Democratic Left now has no viable

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Continued

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Why Norman And Jason Aren't Talking

By MERLE MILLER

JASON EPSTEIN and Norman Podhoretz are both in their early 40's, both Jewish, both graduates of Columbia, both editors and occasional writers, and while they were once close friends, they are now sworn enemies. They once agreed on almost everything, in literature and in politics; now they agree on almost nothing, and the arguments between them, in large part because of them, are repeated on every university campus in the United States, as well as in every city and town where people who are intellectuals or think of themselves as intellectuals—and these days who doesn't?—get together.

Norman Podhoretz is editor of *Commentary*, which has a circulation of 60,000 a month, and, according to a study called "How and Where to Find the Intellectual Elite in the United States," which was published in *Public Opinion Quarterly* last year, *Commentary* has more influence on the thinking of intellectuals in this country than all but two other publications, one of which is *The New York Review of Books*, which has a circulation of about 100,000. (The other is *The New Yorker*.)

Jason Epstein is one of the founders of *The New York Review*; he writes for it now and again, and while he denies having any direct editorial influence on the magazine, his wife Barbara and his friend Robert B. Silvers are the top editors. And those who know all three find it impossible to believe that they disagree on any major issue concerning the magazine. Jason is also a vice president and a senior editor of Random House, one of the largest and most prestigious publishing houses in the country. Random House is owned by RCA, which also owns Alfred A. Knopf and Pantheon Books. The three companies share the same sleek modern building on East 50th Street in New York and

Nebraska, Iowa—anything that isn't New York. They don't understand that, apocalypse or no, most people are going to take their prune juice the next morning."

But there are those who believe that not all the issues in the rift are so apocalyptic, and that friendships in New York literary society wax and wane with less profound events—like the disheartening review given Norman's autobiographical book, "Making It," in a 1968 issue of *The New York Review* and the similar treatment accorded Jason's book, "The Great Conspiracy Trial," in *Commentary* last year. It is true that ever since Edgar Z. Friedenberg's treatment of "Making It" in *N.Y.R.*, except for a few cold hellos at one social gathering or another, Norman and Jason have not spoken to one another.

Norman and his wife, Midge Decter, used to be among the dinner guests at the Epsteins' apartment, where Jason occasionally cooks superb meals on a restaurant-sized stove for as many as 40 guests. Back in the sixties, you could have the Podhoretzes to dinner and, say, Mary McCarthy and Dwight MacDonal and Hannah Arendt and Lillian Hellman and Hans Morgenthau and Paul Goodman and Delmore Schwartz, all at the same time.

Alas, death and geography and politics and disheartening book reviews have separated them now. Guest lists in the seventies must be carefully examined to avoid possible hair-pulling among the ladies and fisticuffs among the men. Was it the war in Vietnam that did it?

The war was certainly fundamental. It became the central symbol in the argument between Jason and Norman, and between *New York Review* and *Commentary*. In essence the disagreement is over whether the System can or should be salvaged, and to what extent the war is an aberration of the System or characteristic of it. And whatever the personal animosities involved in the break between the two editors, their division is taken seriously as illustrating the division in the country. A writer in the Catholic magazine *Commonweal* has said of their quarrel:

"What once could be taken as another family squabble among Manhattan literati looks more and more like an important indicator of future political alignments."

So let us trace the story of the falling out between these two gatekeepers of the literary establishment, as related by the more than 50 members of the "family" I talked to, stopping

MERLE MILLER, the novelist, lives in Brewster, N. Y., in splendid isolation from the wars of the New York Literary Mob. His new novel, "What Happened," will be out this spring.

constitute the most powerful book publishing combination in the country today, probably ever.

Some people feel that the disagreement between Jason and Norman is of importance only to a coterie of so-called intellectuals in New York. One observer says: "They don't understand the rest of the country and are deeply fearful of it. They have a sense of the apocalypse. They feel that the Cossacks come from the steppes, and to them the steppes are

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continued

The Kaplan Caper:

International Mystery Shrouds Spectacular Copter Escape From Mexican Prison

By JOHN PLATERO
Associated Press Writer

MEXICO CITY — As almost 600 prisoners and guards watched a movie called "The Altar of Blood," a U.S.-based helicopter swooped down within the Santa Marta Prison walls, scooped up two men and flew away with the answers to an international mystery.

Joel David Kaplan of New York City was one of the two men who made the first known successful prison escape by helicopter.

The confused and contradictory events that led to the 28-year prison sentence Kaplan was serving for the alleged murder of Louis Melchor Vidal, hint at gun running, international dope smuggling, espionage activities, and the possibility that the body identified as Vidal was that of an itinerant Turkish peddler.

Kaplan, 45, had admitted he was involved in smuggling. The son of Abram Isaac Kaplan, the molasses king, he traveled a great deal about the world, particularly in Latin America, loved adventure and actively was associated with numerous companies connected with the family's business conglomerate.

"KAPLAN was well-educated, refined, loved politics and could be considered an expert on Latin American affairs," said Victor Velasquez, the Mexican lawyer who represented him in his appeals after he was convicted.

Vidal, a New York City Puerto Rican, also had an international flavor to his life. His family, like Kaplan's, was connected with the sugar and coffee industries.

Deep investigation of conflicting police records, lawyers' files and court testimony points to a fascinating web of intrigue. The investigation turned up these possible explanations for the "Kaplan Caper":

It could well have begun in the late 1950s and early '60s with a group of organizations loosely referred to as the Legion del Caribe. Among the legion was a group of mercenaries involved in terrorist and leftist movements in Central America and the Caribbean Islands. Also quite active in that part of the world at the time was the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

AT ONE TIME, the J. M. Kaplan Family Fund, a charitable trust, served as an outlet for CIA money. Jack Kaplan, Joel's uncle, told a Congressional investigating committee a few years ago that the Kaplan Fund had been used to funnel CIA funds.

Vidal apparently led a shady life but he didn't have the stature or the financial independence that Kaplan enjoyed. He sold Cuban pesos on the black market and had been indicted in New York for fraud.

"From bits and pieces put together here, including things that were said by Vidal's father, and a Spanish engineer associated with Vidal Sr., and some comments made by Kaplan, we know that Vidal had sold arms and ammunition," said Velasquez. "We feel he sold arms to Castro and to members of the Legion del Caribe."

Knowledgeable persons say that much of the illegal arms that were sold in Latin America during those years passed through Mexico, perhaps some arms

stolen from Mexican army arsenals and then shipped from this country by small boats.

IN 1961, Vidal, 32, was under pressure that already had cost him a severe beating in New York City. Did it become wise to disappear?

If so, the ideal place to do it was in Mexico where he had contacts in important places.

Persons involved with the case say the plan was that Vidal and Kaplan would meet in Mexico City, where they would look for an unclaimed body that resembled Vidal, buy some blood plasma, fake a violent act and have their contacts cloud the legalities to proclaim Vidal dead. He, in turn, would wait near the Guatemalan border and when advised that he was "dead," cross into Central America and disappear.

A Mexican witness would be set up to identify the "body," a "wife" would make a quick appearance and contacts in the U.S. Embassy would quickly accept a Mexican death certificate and authorize shipment of the corpse back to the States. Kaplan would leave Mexico as soon as the deed was done, visit Vidal's father in New York City to assure him his son was not dead and then go about his own business.

VIDAL ARRIVED Nov. 11 about noon and met with Kaplan, two of Kaplan's friends and an employee of Kaplan's Mexico City firm. That night Vidal took his hotel key, left his belongings behind and departed with Kaplan. He was never seen alive again.

By this same version, a few phone calls to hospitals and morgues turned up a

body to meet Vidal's specifications.

A borrowed car was already on hand, so Kaplan posed as Vidal and went to the hotel with the room key. He paid the bill, checked out and kept the hotel key. Blood was poured on a pair of Vidal's pants, a jacket and a raincoat and then tossed near a lonely road outside the city.

Next, according to a person connected with the case, they went to claim the body and planned to place it somewhere near the clothing. Police would discover the clothing which would have a couple items including the hotel room key to show they belonged to Vidal. There would also be in one of the pockets the name and address of the "wife" in New York.

THEY THEN went to claim the body — but it had already been claimed! They located the unclaimed body of an itinerant Turkish peddler who had lived alone a few miles outside the city. The fact that he weighed 50 pounds more than Vidal and was about 45 years older would have to be passed over through influence of Mexican friends.

After they got the body, it was shot five times and buried not far from where the clothing was thrown.

On Nov. 13, Kaplan left Mexico for New York where he visited Vidal's father. Then he traveled to South America, Canada, and Europe. The following day, Kaplan's two friends, who had been involved in European espionage activities in the past, also departed.

Stained clothing was found

DEC 1971

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he never came to terms with the new age it was not because he failed to understand its seriousness but because he 'disdained it.'



The Rise of Henry Kissinger

"He was a Rococo figure, complex, finely carved, all surface, like an intricately cut prism. His face was delicate but without depth, his conversation brilliant but without ultimate seriousness. Equally at home in the salon and in the Cabinet, he was the beau-ideal of [an] aristocracy which justified itself not by its truth but by its existence. And if

WITH THESE WORDS, A HARVARD thesis-writer named Henry Kissinger introduced Clemens Metternich, Austria's greatest foreign minister and a man whose diplomatic life he has sought to relive. As Richard Nixon's most influential advisor on foreign policy, Kissinger has embodied the role of the 19th century balance-of-power diplomat. He is cunning, elusive, and all-powerful in the sprawling sector of government which seeks to advise the President on national security matters. As Nixon's personal emissary to foreign dignitaries, to academia, and—as "a high White House official"—to the press, he is vague and unpredictable—yet he is the single authoritative carrier of national policy, besides the President himself.

Like the Austrian minister who became his greatest political hero, Kissinger has used his position in government as a protective cloak to conceal his larger ambitions and purposes. Far from being the detached, objective arbiter of presidential decision-making, he has become a crucial mold and supporter of Nixon's foreign policy. Instead of merely holding the bureaucracy at comfortable arm's length, he has entangled it in a web of useless projects and studies, cleverly shifting an important locus of advisory power from the Cabinet departments to his own office. And as a confidential advisor to the President, he never speaks for the record, cannot be made to testify before Congress, and is identified with presidential policy only on a semi-public level. His activity is even less subject to domestic constraints than that of Nixon himself.

Not that any of this is very surprising, however, because Kissinger has emerged from that strain of policy thinking which is fiercely anti-popular and anti-bureaucratic in its origins. Like the ministers who ruled post-Napoleonic Europe from the conference table at Vienna—and the Eastern Establishment figures who preceded him as policy-makers of a later age—Kissinger believes that legislative bodies, bureaucracies, and run-of-the-mill citizenries all lack the training and temperament that are needed in the diplomatic field. He is only slightly less moved by the academies who parade down to Washington to be with the great man and peddle their ideas. And when one sets aside popular opinion, Congress, the bureaucracy, and the academic community, there remains the President alone. The inescapable conclusion is that Henry Kissinger's only meaningful constituency is a constituency of one.

At a superficial level, the comparison with Metternich breaks down. As opposed to a finely carved figure, Kissinger is only of average height, slightly overweight, excessively plain, and somewhat stooped. Far from *beau-ideal*, he is a Jewish refugee, and he speaks with a foreign accent. Despite the image of the gay divorcé, the ruminations about his social activity seem to be grounded more in journalism than in fact.

But without being a butterfly, Kissinger is a deeper individual than the man he wrote about, and he possesses qualities which have attracted him a great deal more popularity in inner circles than his methods or policies would seem to

by David Landau

continued

After 1967 expose CIA sought new ties with campus, labor

By Crocker Show Jr.
Globe Staff

The written report of a confidential discussion about Central Intelligence Agency operations held in 1968, a year after the public controversy over agency involvement with the National Student Assn., shows the CIA was anxious to establish new contacts with other student groups, foundations, universities, labor organizations and corporations for its overseas work.

The discussion was held in January 1968 among ranking government officials and former officials, including several former CIA officers, under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Though no direct quotes are attributed in the report, the opinion was stated by the discussion leader, Richard M. Bissell Jr., formerly a deputy director of the CIA, that: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though these relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected."

The discussion also referred to the continued utility of labor groups and American corporations to CIA operations. No such groups or corporations are named.

The written report, like others sponsored by the council, is considered by the participants as "confidential" and "completely off the record."

The document is being circulated by the Africa Research Group, a small, radically oriented organization headquartered in Cambridge, because "it offers a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of CIA manipulations."

Portions of the document are scheduled to appear today in the "University Review," a New York-based monthly.

The document reflects individual assessments of the CIA by those present. The report includes a number of general statements:

—The two elements of CIA activity, "intelligence collection" and "covert action" (or "intervention") are not separated within the agency but are considered to "overlap and interact."

—The focus of classical espionage in Europe and other developed parts of the world had shifted "toward targets in the underdeveloped world."

—Due to the clear jurisdictional boundary between the CIA and FBI, the intelligence agency was "adverse to surveillance of US citizens overseas (even when specifically requested) and adverse to operating against targets in the United States, except foreigners here as transients."

—The acquisition of a secret speech by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in February 1956 was a classic example of the political use of secretly acquired intelligence. The State Department released the text which, according to one participant, prompted "the beginning of the split in the Communist movement." Since this speech had been specifically targeted before acquired, the results meant to this participant that "if you get a precise target and go after it, you can change history."

—"Penetration," by establishing personal relationships with individuals rather than simply hiring them, was regarded as especially useful in the underdeveloped world. The statement is made that "covert intervention (in the underdeveloped world) is usually designed to operate on the internal power balance, often with a fairly short-term objective."

—The reconnaissance of

during the '50s provided "limited but dramatic results." Flights were late of the cancellations of the scheduled summit between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev after Francis G. Powers was shot down in Laos.)

"After five days of flights were from the Russian side, these operations highly secret in the States, and with no sound," reads the report. "These overflights 'leaked' to the press, the US has been forced to take action."

The meeting, which was not to consider CIA missions so characteristic of the agency's concepts and procedures, was part of a council strategy. "Intelligence as Policy."

The chairman of the meeting was William D. Sullivan, an investment banker who had served in Washington as undersecretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury in the Kennedy Administration.

Twenty persons were listed as attending including prominent former officials and educators like Harry Howe Ransom of Vanderbilt University and David B. Truman, president of Mt. Holyoke College.

The list included Allen Dulles, former director of the CIA, and Robert Amory Jr., who had been deputy director, as well as Bissell, who had been deputy director until shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion, in which the CIA was involved.

The discussion took place just a year after revelations by Ramparts Magazine concerning CIA-funded training of agents for South Vietnam at

the statement that "it is notably true of the subsidies to student, labor and cultural groups that have recently been publicized that the agency's objective was never to control their activities, only occasionally to point them in a particular direction, but primarily to enlarge them and render them more effective."

In an article in the Saturday Evening Post in May 1967, Thomas Braden, who had helped set up the subsidies with Dulles, defended the concept as a way to combat the seven major front organizations of the Communist world in which the Russians through the use of their international fronts had stolen the great words such as peace, justice and freedom."

The report shows that the publicity had not been as damaging to CIA activities

sea that now exists in many countries. We will also urge that such a system eliminate the inequitable "reverse preferences" that now discriminate against Western Hemisphere countries.

The President was certainly correct when he said that—

United States trade policies often have a very heavy impact on our neighbors.

As an example, Mexico imported \$1.565 billion worth of American goods, mostly manufactured items, last year. The United States imported \$833 million worth of Mexican goods, resulting in a plus U.S. trade balance of \$832 million.

Mexico, like most of the developing nations in Latin America is striving to build its manufacturing capabilities in order to create jobs and raise its GNP.

President Nixon has not only broken his promise to "press for a liberal system of generalized tariff preferences for all developing countries, including Latin America," but he has slapped Mexico and our other neighbors with a surcharge of 10 percent on their exports to the United States.

Surely the President was correct when he said during the economic package announcement, that the "temporary" surcharge was aimed at trading nations with under-valued currencies. Given that, why did he break his promises to our developing neighbors and levy precisely the same surcharge against them as he applied to the developed nations?

But the levying of the surcharge was not the only broken promise. In order to increase the drama involved in announcing such a comprehensive economic package, President Nixon broke his express promise to have "advance consultation on trade matters" which he made in the Inter-American Press Association speech.

In a speech delivered yesterday before the U.S. Governors Conference in San Juan, P.R., OAS Secretary General Gato Plaza stated:

The new economic policy announced by the United States Government last month has, understandably, not been well received in Latin America. The surcharge on imports seems to undercut both the general U.S. commitment toward freer trade and the specific U.S. commitment to help Latin America expand and diversify its exports.

I find Secretary General Gato Plaza to be most diplomatic indeed. He might have stated simply: "President Nixon lied to us."

I would remind President Nixon and the Members of this body of one or two economic facts of life:

First, Latin America is the only major world area in which the United States maintains a favorable trade balance.

Second, That favorable trade balance amounted to \$790 million last year.

Third, The United States exported almost \$5 billion worth of goods to Latin America in 1969.

Fourth, The old days when the Latin American nations had nowhere else to go for their imports are over. West Germany, Japan, France, Great Britain, and even the Soviet Union are accelerating their exports to Latin American nations. As an example, in a recent closed session

of the Foreign Relations Committee in one of the houses of the Brazilian Congress, the Foreign Minister of Brazil stated that last year, for the first time in its history, Brazil traded more with the Common Market nations than it did with the United States.

This morning the Washington Post published an editorial which is very germane to the subject of the impact of the 10-percent import surtax on our southern neighbors. The editorial entitled, "Who Pays the Tariff?" follows:

WHO WANTS THE TARIFF?

In the current pushing and shoving among the world's great trading nations, a lot of small countries are getting hurt. Latin America illustrates the point. The United States did not really intend to harm the Latin economies last month when it imposed its 10 per cent surtax on imports. The truth is that the White House and the Treasury were not thinking about Latin America at all. But intentional or not, the damage is real and the consequences are going to be serious.

President Nixon worked out his economic program with the advice of a special committee of able and experienced citizens, headed by Albert Williams, whose report has now been published. But in the matter of tariffs the President overrode this committee, which urged him to move toward removal of all barriers to international trade. The Williams committee is right on this issue, and the President is wrong. The evidence is already visible to the south.

The Latin Americans protest, with good logic, that it is unjust to make them pay a surtax designed to remedy a trade crisis in which they played no part. Latin America has traditionally bought more from the United States than it sells here. The Latins are not the people to see about revaluing the yen and the Deutschmark. But the United States meets all objections with a shrug and the observation that it can't start making exceptions now.

Mr. Nixon attempted this week to placate the Latins with the decision that, for them alone, he would cancel the 10 per cent reduction in foreign aid; it had originally been part of the program announced a month ago, with the surtax. But the countries getting the most aid are not those hardest hit by the surtax.

The extreme examples are Mexico and Brazil. Mexico does more business with the United States than any other country in Latin America and will be more severely damaged by the surtax than any other. But Mexico takes no direct aid from the United States. On the other hand, the United States gives more aid to Brazil than to any other Latin country. Brazil does half as much business with the United States as Mexico does. Since coffee is exempt, the surtax applies only to about 15 per cent of Brazil's exports to this country. But it applies to fully 50 per cent of Mexico's exports here.

Less than two years ago Mr. Nixon delivered a glowing speech on this country's responsibilities to Latin America. "They need," he said then, "to be assured of access to the expanding markets of the industrialized world." He promised them advance consultation on trade matters, and he also promised to pursue, worldwide, "a liberal system of generalized tariff preferences." They got no consultation on the surtax, obviously, and now they see the United States taking the lead in raising tariffs. Unfortunately the price of these moves comes high, and much of it is ultimately paid by small nations that cannot afford their large neighbors' mistakes.

BILDERBERG: THE COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 15, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions during recent months, I called the attention of our colleagues to activities of the Bilderbergers—an elite international group comprised of high Government officials, international financiers, businessmen and opinionmakers—see Congressional Record, H2016-8 of May 5, 1971, entitled "Bilderbergers' Woodstock Meeting;" H18701 to H18704 of May 10, 1971, entitled "U.S. Dollar Crisis—A Dividend of Internationalism;" H4979 to H4985 of May 24, 1971, entitled "Secret Bilderberg Meeting and the Logan Act;" and H7786 to H7787 of July 16, 1971, entitled "Bilderberg Case: Reply From U.S. Attorney General's Office."

This exclusive international aristocracy holds highly secretive meetings annually or more often in various countries. The limited information available about what transpires at these meetings reveals that they discuss matters of vital importance which affect the lives of all citizens. Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger, who made a secret visit to Peking from July 9 to 11, 1971, and arranged for a Presidential visit to Red China, was reported to be in attendance at the most recent Bilderberg meeting held in Woodstock, Vt., April 23-25, 1971. The two points reportedly discussed at the Woodstock meeting were "the contribution of business in dealing with current problems of social instability" and "the possibility of a change of the American role in the world and its consequences."

Following these secret discussions, which are certainly not in keeping with the Western political tradition of "open covenants openly arrived at," the participants return to their respective countries with the general public left uninformed, notwithstanding the attendance of some news media representatives, of any of the recommendations and plans agreed upon as a result of the discussions—or for that matter even the occurrence of the meeting itself.

Because the American people have a right to know of any projections for a change in America's role in the world and because Henry Kissinger and other Government officials and influential Americans met with high Government officials and other powerful foreign leaders, I sought to have more information about the recent Bilderberg meeting made public by raising the question to the U.S. Attorney General of a possible violation of the Logan Act by American participants and asked if the Justice Department anticipated taking any action in the matter.

The reply from the Justice Department, in effect, was that all of the elements constituting a violation of the Logan Act were present and that the Department contemplated no action but

APPLETON, WISC.
POST-CRESCENT

E - 43,953
S - 48,116

SEP 14 1971

Jail Break by Helicopter

It was right out of the Three Musketeers or the Scarlet Pimpernel or maybe just Zorro. But the rescue of an American, convicted of murder in Mexico, by a helicopter which simply landed and picked him up will be something prison authorities won't forget for some time.

Joel Kaplan had been convicted of murder in Mexico and sentenced to 23 years in prison. He has served nine of them. He is the heir to a considerable fortune and has a mysterious background including rumors of being involved with the Central Intelligence Agency and political intrigues in Latin America. His Mexican attorney says the murder charges were ridiculous but relatives were worried because Kaplan's health was failing in prison. Apparently several other attempts had been made to get him out.

The successful break was made when all but five guards were watching a movie. There was no opposition to the landing of the helicopter or any shots fired as it left. After transferring to a private plane, Kaplan and the pilot legally landed at Brownsville, Texas, where they were checked out for nar-

cotics and then sent on their way. Mexico apparently doesn't intend to bring any extradition proceedings. For one thing it is no crime to break jail in Mexico unless violence is involved. In the peaceful landing and takeoff of the helicopter, there was no violence.

But while the episode is humorous, it does bring up some long range questions. If the murder charge was so untenable, why was it not fought by American authorities? Did some of Kaplan's funds actually go to a school in Costa Rica that had something to do with the C.I.A. and was a Kaplan family fund used to convey money from the State Department to that school as a relative now claims? Did American authorities have anything to do with the escape and was it something of a face-saving mechanism for our relations with Mexico?

There are many unanswered questions and probably there won't be any sure answers. But anyway it was a refreshing episode even if the stakes were really not as high as might be indicated and even had the skids been carefully greased ahead of time.

Mexican Officials Call U.S. Escapee A 'Jekyll and Hyde'

By Francis B. Kent
Los Angeles Times

MEXICO CITY — Joel David Kaplan would not stand out in a crowd. Slightly built, going bald, he might be taken for a shy accountant.

Yet this outwardly unassuming figure has twice burst into the headlines here, first on being convicted of murder touched with foreign intrigue, then as the central figure in a dramatic escape from prison.

Both incidents, it appeared, are in keeping with the personality of the real Joel Kaplan.

From information supplied by those who knew him here, friends and prison authorities, Kaplan emerges as a kind of Jekyll and Hyde, quiet and reflective one minute, bold and swash-buckling the next.

Little is known of his early years, except that he was born in New York on Oct. 17, 1926, that he graduated from a military academy at Roswell, N.M., at the age of 16 and that he enlisted in the Navy the following year.

It was not until March, 1961, that the record begins to catch up with him.

Molasses Business

At that time he entered Mexico using what officials describe as a fraudulent British passport, describing himself as a photographer although he was known to be an executive of a New York firm engaged in the purchase of molasses. Eight months later he was charged with the murder of a business associate, Luis Melchior Vidal.

Convicted and sentenced to 28 years in prison, he denied steadfastly that he had killed Vidal, although he admitted to an interviewer in 1967 that he had taken part



JOEL D. KAPLAN
... in shadowy world

in a conspiracy, hatched in New York, to make it appear that Vidal had been killed. Vidal, he said at the time, was in trouble for trafficking in illegal arms.

Prison officials contend that during his years in various penitentiaries here Kaplan drank heavily and at one time used narcotics supplied by easily bribed guards.

Reporters who talked with him concede the probability, citing Kaplan's moody distrust of relatives, his tendency to contradict himself and his fear of being killed.

He is reported to have failed in at least one suicide attempt and is quoted as saying on more than one occasion:

"If I ever get out of here I won't live 24 hours."

CIA Agent?

Kaplan's attorney, the noted Mexican trial lawyer Victor Velasquez, insists that his client was an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, but well-placed sources here argue that the Mexican government would in no circumstances jail a CIA operative.

Still, his uncle, J. M. Kaplan, is known to have established a foundation cited as a conduit for CIA funds. Joel Kaplan, without elaborating, often said that it was in his uncle's interest to keep him in prison here.

In November, 1967, the uncle told Kaplan in a letter made available here that he had had no contact with the CIA "for years" and that he had no reason to want his nephew imprisoned. Those at fault, he added, were "the crowds of leeches and blood-suckers who surround you ... part of the poison known as the Mafia."

Curiously, this man who admits to have smuggled guns and taken part in a sinister conspiracy was once a figure of some renown in New York society. He was married for a time to a model named Bonnie Sharie and was seen frequently in New York's posh watering places.

Now, having engineered a spectacular escape from prison, he presumably has disappeared into the shadowy world that better fits the other Joel David Kaplan.

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MEXICO

Whirlaway

Most of the 136 guards at Mexico City's Santa Maria Acatitla prison were watching a movie with the prisoners last week when a Bell helicopter, similar in color to the Mexican attorney general's, suddenly clattered into the prison yard. Some of the guards on duty presented arms, supposing that the helicopter had brought an unexpected official visitor. What they got was a different sort of surprise. As the chopper set down on the paving stones, two prisoners dashed out of Cell No. 10. The men were airborne in less than two minutes. One of the most enterprising jailbreaks in modern times had been accomplished without a shot being fired.

The more notable of the two escapees was Joel David Kaplan, 44, a New York businessman and nephew of Molasses Tycoon Jacob M. Kaplan, whose J.M. Kaplan Fund was named in a 1964 congressional investigation as a conduit for CIA money for Latin America. The younger Kaplan had been convicted in 1962 for the Mexico City murder of his New York business partner, Louis Vidal Jr. Kaplan claimed at the trial that Vidal, who had been involved in narcotics and gunrunning, had

constructed an elaborate plot to disappear. The murder victim, Kaplan maintained, was not even Vidal, and indeed, serious doubts were raised about the body's identity. When Kaplan took it on the lam, he was accompanied by Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro, a Venezuelan counterfeiter.

The escape plans had apparently been completed the day before when an American man visited Cell No. 10 and looked over the prison yard. He was accompanied by both men's wives. (Kaplan had married a Mexican woman—the only way he could have visitors, he said—without bothering to divorce New York Model Bonnie Sharie.) After the escape, Kaplan and Castro switched to a small Cessna at a nearby airfield and were flown to La Pesca airport near the Texas border, where two more planes awaited them. One flew Castro to Guatemala; the other flew Kaplan to Texas and then on to California. Kaplan used his own name when he passed U.S. customs at Brownsville. Both the helicopter, which was later found abandoned, and the Cessna had been bought in the U.S., at an estimated cost of \$100,000.

No James Bond. At week's end neither man had been caught. Kaplan's Mexican attorney declared that his client was a CIA agent and that the rescue had been engineered by the agency. But a spokesman for Jacob Kaplan pooh-poohed all that. "People are determined to substitute James Bond for the Kaplan family name," he said, though he could offer no explanation of just who had carried out the spectacular stunt. In Mexico, meanwhile, Attorney General Julio Sánchez Vargas was forced to resign, and prison officials and all 136 guards were arrested for questioning. The movie, after all, had been the first shown at the prison in two years.

29 AUG 1971

MEXICAN JAILBREAK RIDDLE

Vanished Kaplan Left Skein
of Bizarre Facts, Surmises

BY FRANCIS B. KENT

Times Staff Writer

MEXICO CITY—The few guards who hadn't gone to the movie presented arms smartly as the helicopter chattered out of a gray, drizzling August sky and settled onto the prison courtyard. But no dignitary alighted. Instead, two inmates darted across the open space, clambered aboard and were whisked away into the gathering dusk.

Thus Joel David Kaplan, an American adventurer, wrote the last chapter but one of a bizarre scenario that few writers of fiction would attempt. The final chapter and the complete cast of characters may remain forever a mystery except to the people directly involved.

For Kaplan, after serving nine years of a long sentence here for murder with intriguing overtones, disappeared Aug. 18 almost literally into thin air. He left behind a tangled skein of fact, rumor, suggestion and conjecture that may never be sorted out.

What, for instance, really brought Kaplan to Mexico in the spring of 1961? Business or a contract of another kind? What motive would he have had for killing the man he was convicted of killing? Was Kaplan in fact a U.S. intelligence agent? Was it the Central Intelligence Agency that planned and carried out the spectacular Aug. 18 escape?

The record, pieced together from yellowing newspaper clippings, formal testimony and interviews, leaves a checkerboard of blank spaces.

It is known that Kaplan, then 34, arrived here in early 1961 as a representative of the American Sucrose Co., an affiliate of the Southwest Sugar and Molasses Co. of New York. The following November an associate in the sucrose firm, Luis Melchior Vidal, was reported shot to death and a body identified as his was found several miles from here on the road to Cuernavaca. Kaplan and two others were charged with murder.

To this point it all seems plausible enough. A business dispute. Heated words. Hired assassins and a quick settlement of account. Nothing out of the ordinary in Mexico, then or now. But a closer look at the principals suggests something else.

Vidal, the alleged victim, was rumored at the time to have been long involved in the business of supplying arms to governments with ready cash and no hangups about keeping records. He was said to have taken money from the Castro government in Cuba but then reneged on delivery. In court, it was testified that the body identified as Vidal's was that of a man in his 70s, twice Vidal's age.

Kaplan himself, in prison interviews, hinted broadly at having served the CIA. He said he had been in naval intelligence in 1945-46 in Miami, a hotbed of Cuban agents and Cuban intrigue. He said he had smuggled guns in Central America but insisted that "although I'm no boy scout" he had had nothing to do with the alleged murder of Vidal.

Uncle's Foundation

Perhaps coincidentally, it was his uncle, J. M. Kaplan, who founded the Kaplan Foundation of New York, which has been identified in congressional testimony as one of the otherwise philanthropic agencies used for channeling CIA funds to labor and student organizations.

Also perhaps coincidentally, both of Kaplan's alleged accomplices in the Vidal slaying were men of curiously similar background. Both promptly slipped out of the country and disappeared.

One of these was Harry Kopelsohn, a naturalized citizen of Israel who was born in Kiev. Kopelsohn, also known as Earl Scott, was widely rumored to be an agent of the Israeli government. The other was Evsie S. Petrushansky, also born in Russia, who described himself as a movie and television director working out of New York and Baltimore.

Speculation has it that Kaplan's escape plans began to take shape in 1965, when as an inmate of Mexico City's infamous Lecumberri prison he married Irma Vasquez Calderon. Under Mexico's system of almost unlimited privileges for prisoners with money, the Calderon woman was free to enter and leave Lecumberri almost at will.

From Lecumberri, located in the heart of the capital, Kaplan was soon transferred to Santa Marta Acatitla, a maximum security federal prison on the city's southern outskirts. It was there, after an unsuccessful attempt to

duck out by clinging to a truck's underside earlier this year, that Kaplan finally carried off the bold plan.

The helicopter simply appeared, took on its passengers and disappeared as quickly as it had come. On board with Kaplan was another inmate, Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro, a Venezuelan citizen serving nine years for robbery and forgery.

At Santa Marta Acatitla, it has been learned, Kaplan's wife and an American friend, identified only as Harvey Orville Dail, visited Kaplan only a few hours before the escape.

The helicopter, along with two light planes employed in the elaborate operation, have been traced as far as the Texas border and there the trail ends. Kaplan is believed to have crossed into the United States at Brownsville and headed west, possibly to California, and the Venezuelan is thought to have been flown south to Guatemala and points beyond.

Trail Cooling

Meanwhile, with the trail cooling at what appears to be a dead end, Mexican authorities are concentrating on what transpired at Santa Marta Acatitla. The prison commandant, his chief assistant and an increasing number of guards are being held for questioning. Despite testimony to the contrary, investigators have established that the prison's alarm system was functioning and that the guards' rifles were in working order.

Few observers doubt that part of the half-million dollars estimated to have gone into the scheme found its way into the prison. But the money's source, like the whereabouts of Joel David Kaplan, remains a mystery.

JEKYLL-AND-HYDE TYPE

Real Kaplan Seen in Mexican Jail Escape

BY FRANCIS B. KENT

Times Staff Writer

MEXICO CITY — Joel David Kaplan would not stand out in a crowd. Slightly built, going bald, he might be taken for a shy accountant.

Yet this outwardly unassuming figure has twice burst into the headlines here first on being convicted of murder touched with foreign intrigue, then as the perpetrator of a dramatic escape from prison.

Both incidents, it appeared, are in keeping with the personality of the real Joel Kaplan.

From information supplied by those who knew him here—friends and prison authorities — Kaplan emerges as a kind of Jekyll and Hyde, quiet and reflective one minute, bold and swashbuckling the next.

Little is known of his early years, except that he was born in New York on Oct. 17, 1926, that he graduated from New Mexico

Military Institute at Roswell at the age of 16 and that he enlisted in the Navy the following year.

It was not until March, 1961, that the record begins to catch up with him.

At that time he entered Mexico using what officials describe as a fraudulent British passport, describing himself as a photographer although he was known to be an executive of a New York firm engaged in the purchase of molasses. Eight months later he was charged with the murder of a business associate, Luis Melchior Vidal.

Convicted and sentenced to 28 years in prison, he denied steadfastly that he had killed Vidal, although he admitted to an interviewer in 1967 that he had taken part in a conspiracy, hatched in New York, to make it appear that Vidal had been killed. Vidal, he said at the time, was in trouble for trafficking in illegal arms.

Prison officials contend that during his years in various penitentiaries here Kaplan drank heavily and at one time used narcotics supplied by easily bribed guards.

Reporters who talked with him concede the probability, citing Kaplan's moody distrust of relatives, his tendency to contradict himself and his fear of being killed. He is reported to have failed in at least one suicide attempt and is quoted as saying on more than one occasion:

"If I ever get out of here I won't live 24 hours."

Kaplan's attorney, the noted Mexican trial lawyer Victor Velasquez, insists that his client was an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, but well-placed sources here argue that the Mexican government would in no circumstances jail a CIA operative.

Still, his uncle, J. M. Kaplan, is known to have established a foundation cited as a conduit for CIA funds. Joel Kaplan, without elaborating, often said that it was in his uncle's interest to keep him in prison here.

In November, 1967, the uncle told Kaplan in a letter made available here that he had had no contact with the CIA "for years" and that he had no reason to want his nephew impris-

oned. Those at fault, he added, were "the crowds of leeches and bloodsuckers who surround you . . . part of the poison known as the Mafia."

Curiously, this man, who admits to have smuggled guns and taken part in a sinister conspiracy, was once a figure of some renown in New York society. He was married for a time to a pert blonde model named Bonnie Sharie and was seen frequently in New York's posh watering places.

Now, having engineered a spectacular escape from prison, he presumably has disappeared into the shadowy world that better fits the other Joel David Kaplan.

STATINTL

AUG 22 1971

CIA Link in Jail Break Denied Here

By John Burks

Joel David Kaplan, the 41 year old ex-New Yorker whose helicopter escape from a Mexico City prison last week was one of the most daring in that nation's history, was not involved with the Central Intelligence Agency at the time of his escape, according to San Francisco attorney Melvin Belli.

Belli, who has represented the Kaplan family for some years, said yesterday the CIA was mixed up with the 1961 murder of, Luis Melchior Vidal, a Puerto Rican, born U.S. businessman, which resulted in Kaplan's conviction and sentencing to 23 years in the Mexico City prison.

"But not now," said Belli. "Kaplan was completely cut loose by the CIA when he was racked up on that homicide charge down there."

This might indicate that the CIA had no hand in the history, was not involved dramatic escape, despite earlier speculation centering on a "CIA rescue mission." When contacted in Washington, a CIA spokesman said he knew no more about the

case then he'd read in the papers and "we never comment on an published reports."

A helicopter apainted in official colors landed in the prison courtyard Wednesday evening, and Kaplan and his cellmate, Antonio Contreras, a Venezuelan, dashed to board it. They were aloft and headed toward the Texas border before prison guards could react. It looked like a segment from the Mission Impossible TV show.

At Brownsville, Texas, Contreras was reportedly placed aboard a small airplane headed for Guatemala,

and mystery fugitive Kaplan reportedly boarded another small airplane -- a Cessna single-engine 210 -- bound for Sausalito.

Though the FBI -- and a passel of newsmen -- have been trying to track down Kaplan in or around Sausalito, his whereabouts remain unknown.

There was talk in Sausalito of a similar plan to spring Kaplan from the Mexican prison two years ago. This evidently involved limousines, airplanes, hand gren-level dope dealers -- but no helicopter. So far as is known, the earlier escape plan was never set in action.

A law partner of Belli's, Vasilios Choulos, says he heard rumors of such a scheme a couple of years ago, but I knew there was nothing to it." Choulos says

cape ran high because Kaplan's sister, Judith Kaplan Dowis, was then living in Sausalito and working through high-power legal advisors to get her brother pardoned. She recently moved to New Mexico, according to Choulos.

The Kaplan family is monitored and it has been linked with the VIA via the J. M. M. Kaplan, the fund's founder, is Joel David Kaplan's uncle.

In 1967, Rep. C. Wright Patman of the House tax subcommittee identified the Kaplan Fund as a "financial cover for the disbursement of CIA funds." And Joel David Kaplan's Mexican attorney, Victor Velazquez, told newsmen after his client's escape that Kaplan was a "well known" CIA agent who made not attempt to hide it.

STATINTL

21 AUG 1971

STATINTL

Did the CIA engineer the escape?

MEXICO CITY (UPI) — The guards presented arms when the small blue helicopter landed in the courtyard of Santa Marta Acatitla federal prison, assuming it brought a visiting dignitary. Instead, a convicted American murderer and a Venezuelan counterfeiter scrambled aboard and escaped.

Before the guards in the towers realized what was happening, the two took off in the rain and skinned away without a trace.

Police placed prison officials under arrest Thursday and issued an alert for another American believed to have engineered the spectacular escape from the maximum security prison Wednesday evening.

Millionaire convict

They identified the two escaped convicts as Joel David Kaplan, 42, a former New York millionaire importer serving a 26-year term for murder, and his cellmate, Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro of Venezuela, who was serving a sentence for counterfeiting and forgery.

Kaplan is a nephew of J.M. Kaplan, president of the J.M. Kaplan Fund of New York. Testimony before the U.S. Congress described the fund as a philanthropic organization created as a conduit for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) funds.

A police spokesman said the man believed to have engineered the escape and perhaps piloted the helicopter was an American, whom they identified as Orville Dale. Dale visited Kaplan at the

prison Wednesday only a few hours before the escape.

Kaplan had been convicted of the murder in 1931 of Puerto Rican Luis M. Vidal. The unmarked helicopter was set down in the Santa Marta Acatitla prison yard during a heavy rain. Afterwards the guards on the watchtowers said they thought it carried a visiting dignitary and they presented arms.

Guards arrested

"It was all a question of a few minutes," one guard said.

Warden Jose Luis Campes Burgos said, "all those responsible for the custody and security of the jail have been placed under arrest" during the investigation. Riot police ringed the prison Thursday morning not letting anyone out.

Police sent out a general alert to all airports and airfields in the country and extra vigilance was reported on both the U.S. and the Guatemalan borders. There were reports the two might try to flee to Honduras or Venezuela.

Kaplan, who never admitted his guilt, was the owner of a molasses importing firm based in New York. He is considered a millionaire. His Mexican wife, Irma Vazquez Calderon de Kaplan, was being held for questioning by police.

Prison officials said both Kaplan and Contreras Castro had attempted to escape from the maximum security prison last February hidden in a truck, but were discovered. They were not disciplined, the officials said.

Police agents were sent to a private airfield at Venta Prieta, about 100 miles north of Mexico City, where a helicopter answering the description of the getaway aircraft was seen Tuesday.

The helicopter disappeared from the international airport radar screen Wednesday as it headed south over the mountains that surround Mexico City.

21 AUG 1971



JOEL D. KAPLAN

... flees north

Mexican Police Ask FBI To Arrest U.S. Jailbreaker

From News Dispatches

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 20-- Mexican police today asked the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation to arrest a 42-year-old New York murder convict who escaped aboard a helicopter from a federal penitentiary Wednesday night.

Joel David Kaplan, who his defense attorney said was an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro, a Venezuelan counterfeiter, fled the maximum security prison in one of the most spectacular escapes in Mexico prison annals.

The attorney general's office said one of the two escapees, presumably Kaplan, was flown to Brownsville, Tex., and Sausalito, Calif., after transferring from the helicopter to a Cessna single-engine plane about 300 miles northeast of Mexico City.

The office said it believed

that Contreras Castro had flown in a second Cessna to Guatemala.

It said both Cessnas had been rented in Phoenix, Ariz., and that the helicopter had been rented from Natrola Service, Inc., of Casper, Wyo. A report said the helicopter was found abandoned last night near La Pesca.

The helicopter, painted in the blue and white colors of the Mexican attorney general's office, swooped into the yard of the Santa Maria Acatitla Prison near Mexico City and plucked the two to freedom.

Mexican police identified the pilot of the helicopter as Roger Guy Herschner of Glendora, Calif.

The attorney general's office also requested the cooperation of national police in Central America in the search for the two escapees.

Police also sought a man

and a woman seen in a car whose lights lit the airfield where they switched to the light plane.

Kaplan was serving a 28-year sentence for the premeditated murder of Luis M. Vidal in 1961. Contreras Castro, 35, of Tarachi, Venezuela, Kaplan's cellmate, was serving nine years for counterfeiting and forgery.

Victory Velazquez, Kaplan's defense attorney, said that he never doubted that his client was a CIA agent, who had come to Mexico in 1961 on a secret mission. Kaplan entered Mexico with a false British passport in 1961, police said.

The J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York, of which Kaplan's uncle, J. M. Kaplan, is the president, has been identified as a CIA conduit by Congressional investigators.

Copter Plucks 2 From Jail in Mexico

By United Press International

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 19—A small blue helicopter landed in the courtyard of Santa Maria Acatitla Federal Prison last night, and guards assumed a visiting dignitary would step out. Instead, the police said today, a convicted American murderer and a Venezuelan counterfeiter scrambled aboard and escaped.

The police placed prison officials under arrest today and issued an alert for another American believed to have engineered the spectacular escape from the maximum security prison.

They identified the escaped convicts as Joel David Kaplan, 42 years old, a former New York millionaire importer serving a 28-year term for murder, and his cellmate, Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro of Venezuela, who was serving a sentence for counterfeiting and forgery. Kaplan had been convicted of the murder in 1961 of a Puerto Rican, Luis M. Vidal.

Airfields Alerted

A police spokesman said the man believed to have engineered the escape and perhaps to have piloted the helicopter was an American, whom they identified as Orville Dale.

Mr. Dale visited Kaplan at the prison yesterday only a few hours before the escape.

The unmarked helicopter was set down in the prison yard during a heavy rain. "It was

all a question of a few minutes," one guard said.

The warden, José Luis Campos Burgos, said that "all those responsible for the custody and security of the jail" had been placed under arrest while the escape was being investigated.

The police sent out a general alert to all Mexican airfields and extra vigilance was reported on both the United States and the Guatemalan borders. There were reports the two might try to flee to Honduras or Venezuela.

Prison officials said that both Kaplan and Contreras Castro had attempted to escape from the maximum security prison last February hidden in a truck, but were discovered. They were not disciplined, the officials said.

Police agents were sent to a private airfield at Venta Prieta, about 100 miles north of Mexico City, where a helicopter answering the description of the getaway craft was seen Tuesday. The helicopter disappeared from the international airport radar screen yesterday as it headed south over the mountains that surround Mexico City.

Kaplan, who never admitted guilt, was the owner of a molasses importing firm in New York. He is the nephew of J. M. Kaplan, president of the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York. Testimony before the United States Congress in 1964 described the fund as a philanthropic organization created as a conduit for Central Intelligence Agency funds.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

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EVENING - 623,245
WEEKEND - 354,797

AUG 20 1971

Helicopter Jailbreaker Is No 007, Says Uncle

BY HARRY CUNNINGHAM

New York philanthropist J.M. Kaplan claims he hasn't heard from his estranged nephew Joel David Kaplan since the 41-year-old heir's latest international escapade—a daring escape from a Mexican prison by helicopter.

"Joel is a troubled person. But his problems are his own problems," the wealthy molasses tycoon said through a family spokesman.

Because of the nephew's family ties to his uncle's J. M. Kaplan Fund, an acknowledged CIA "conduit," people are determined to substitute 'James Bond' for the Kaplan family name," the spokesman added.

Officials at the Santa Marta Acatitla prison said the

blue chopper landed behind the prison dormitory while most of the inmates were watching a movie. Kaplan and a Venezuelan-born convict, Antonio Castro, were whisked up and away beyond the prison walls.

The district attorney's office in Mexico City said it had learned that the helicopter had been rented from Natrola Service Inc., Casper, Wyo., and flown by Roger Guy Herschmmer, 29, of Glendora, Cal.

It said the chopper was found abandoned last night near the Gulf Coast fishing village of La Presca, about 150 miles south of Brownsville, Tex., and some 300 miles northeast of Mexico City.

The escapees switched at La Presca to separate Cessna planes that had been rented in Phoenix, Ariz., the office said, Kaplan flying by way of Brownsville to Sausalito, Calif., and Contreras possibly to Guatemala. The plane carrying Kaplan was said to have been piloted by a Victor E. Stadler, whose home address was not given.

The FBI in San Francisco, across the bay from Sausalito, confirmed that Kaplan was being sought in that area.

Kaplan, whose checkered past included a widely-publicized assault on his shapely pin-up wife, Bonnie Sharle, before their divorce in 1933, was serving a 28-year sentence for the murder of his business partner, Luis Mel-

chior Vidal in 1931.

The mysterious case attracted national attention because of suggestions that Vidal, also a New Yorker, had been involved in gun-running to both pro-and anti-Castro groups.

In Mexico City, attorney Victor Velazquez, who defended Kaplan in the murder case, was quoted as saying that he believed Kaplan was a CIA agent and that the escape had been engineered by that agency.

The Kaplan Fund was later identified by Congressman Wright Patman of Texas as a "secret conduit" for transmission of CIA funds abroad. The fund's 79-year-old founder, whose full name is Jacob M. Kaplan, later acknowledged that he had funneled \$1-million to schools in Mexico and Central America, feeling it was his "patriotic duty to do so."

The \$20,000,000 J. M. Kaplan Fund was based on the fortune Kaplan accumulated through his South American sugar interests and as president of the Welch Grape Co.

Joel Kaplan was arrested by Interpol in Spain in 1962 and tried in 1964. In 1967, the Mexican Supreme Court upheld the 28-year sentence.

EXAMINER

E - 204,749

EXAMINER & CHRONICLE

S - 640,004

AUG 20 1971

A CIA Touch To Jailbreak

Fugitive May Be in Sausalito

By Jane Eshleman Conant

The cloak-and-dagger escape of mystery man Joel David Kaplan from a Mexico City jail, reportedly to Sausalito, may have been engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency, according to speculation in various quarters today.

And it was an urgent affair, The Examiner learned.

The pilot who flew the 45 year old New Yorker out of Mexico, and allegedly to the Bay Area, tried to acquire the getaway plane "in a big hurry" on Sunday, Aug. 8.

'A Little Funny'

He went to a Southern California aircraft sales firm and said he "had to be in Albuquerque the next day," the sales manager said, adding:

"He came on too strong. The owner thought there was something a little funny about it and turned him down."

The pilot, identified as Victor E. Stadler, then went to another Southern California sales agency, it was learned. There, he traded his own old two-engine Cessna 310 for the newer, single-engine Cessna 210 in which the escape flight was completed.

His wife said today he is "out of town -- where he is, I don't know."

CIA Connection

She declined to discuss the matter "until my husband is here with me," but said she has no idea when he will return.

Meantime, Kaplan's attorney, Victor Velazquez, said in Mexico City that it is "a well known fact" that the fugitive was a CIA agent.

"He didn't try to hide it," Velazquez said.

He said Kaplan had openly acknowledged he had done work for the CIA, and added:

"I often wondered what might have motivated him, and a member of his family told me it was his spirit of adventure."

The attorney insisted he didn't know who helped Kaplan and a cellmate flee the Mexican jail by helicopter Wednesday night. But his remarks led to speculation that it was a CIA "rescue mission."

Whether Kaplan was actually brought to Sausalito remained a mystery.

Spy Role?

The federal attorney general's office in Mexico City said he reached the Marin County bayshore town, but did not elaborate.

Police there said they knew nothing about it. An FBI spokesman in San Francisco said "We don't have anything on it at this time. We are looking into it."

Meanwhile there was all sorts of talk about Kaplan's possible spy role, and his part in an alleged "murder" in Mexico City in 1961.

Attorney Velazquez said he is a nephew of J. M. Kaplan of New York, founder of the J. M. Kaplan Fund, incorporated in Delaware in 1964 as a tax-exempt charity.

CIA Cover

The House tax subcommittee of Rep. Wright Patman said some years ago that the Kaplan Fund was a "financial cover for the disbursement of CIA funds."

There were possible CIA overtones in the asserted murder of which Kaplan was convicted, and for which he was serving a sentence in the Maricao Acatilla Prison, Mexico City.

He was arrested after a body identified as that of Luis Melchior Vidal, a Puerto Rico-born American businessman, was found beside a road south of Mexico City in 1961.

Velazquez and Kaplan argued that the body was not that of Vidal, who, they claimed, had been involved in a deal to provide arms to persons hoping to overthrow "dictatorships" in Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Fled to Cuba

The deal collapsed because the CIA put in its ear, the attorney alleged. He said Vidal fled Mexico to Cuba and was not murdered, by Kaplan or anyone else.

Kaplan and his cellmate, Carlo Antonio Contreras, 24, a Venezuelan, were plucked from a yard behind their jail dormitory Wednesday night by a helicopter painted in the blue and white colors of the Mexican attorney general's office.

Prison guards, it was reported, thought it was an official plane and presented arms as it landed.

Kaplan and Contreras ran from the jail, got aboard and were whisked away.

The federal attorney general's office said the helicopter took the men to La Pesca, a fishing village on the Gulf Coast some 300 miles north-east of Mexico City.

There, the office said, Kaplan was put into a Cessna 210 with the numbers N9462-X and was flown to Brownsville, Tex., and thence to Marin County.

Contreras boarded another Cessna, No. N9334-X, and was believed taken to Guatemala.

The official spokesman said the helicopter was flown by Roger Guy Herselmer, 23, of Glendora, Los Angeles County. The Cessna which allegedly picked up Kaplan was piloted by Stadler, he declared.

Plane Sold

Neither could be located immediately.

The Mexico authorities said the helicopter had been rented from the "Natrola Service," of Casper, Wyo. This turned out to be the Natrona Service, a mineral claims survey firm operated by John McGuire.

A Natrona spokesman said the helicopter, a Bell four-seater -- "a small one" -- was sold, not rented, about 10 days ago.

It was "surplus equipment," the spokesman said, adding that records were not immediately available to show to whom it was sold.

Meantime, in Mexico City, Maj. Juan Toria Martinez, chief of security at the prison; his assistant, Andres Duenas Sosa, and five subordinates were held for investigation. Those whose negligence contributed to the escape will receive "the strongest punishment," authorities said.

MEXICO MANHUNT

2 Flee Jail in Copter

MEXICO CITY (UP) — Two men, including a New Yorker convicted of manslaughter, escaped from a maximum security prison in Mexico City yesterday when a helicopter landed inside the prison to lift them to freedom.

The two men were identified as Joel David Kaplan, 41, a New Yorker sentenced to 28 years for manslaughter and Carlos Antonio Contreras Castro, a Venezuelan serving a seven-year term for counterfeiting. They remained at large today.

The warden of the Santa Marta Acatitla prison on the outskirts of Mexico City, Jose Luis Campos Burgos, said a little blue helicopter landed on a patio inside the jail adjacent to the

dormitory where the two men were housed.

"The criminals boarded the helicopter, which took them away," he said. It was tracked briefly on the radarscope at Mexico City International Airport but disappeared from the screen before it could be intercepted. A full-scale hunt was underway for both the helicopter and the men.

The warden said "all those responsible for the custody and security of the jail have been placed under arrest" while an investigation is carried out as to how and why the helicopter was permitted to land.

Kaplan is a nephew of J. M. Kaplan, president of the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York, Tes-

timony before the U.S. Congress has described the fund as a philanthropic organization created as a channel for funds of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Kaplan was sentenced to prison for manslaughter in the death of Luis Melchor Vidal, also of New York City, whose bullet-riddled body was found outside Mexico City on Nov. 11, 1961. Kaplan was arrested in Spain by Interpol agents in 1963 and returned to Mexico City for trial.

He pleaded not guilty but was found guilty of manslaughter and of entering Mexico on a false passport. While in jail, Kaplan divorced his wife and married Irma Vazquez Calderon of Mexico.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
EXAMINER
E - 204;749
EXAMINER & CHRONICLE
S - 640,004
AUG 19 1971

2 Escape Tough Jail By 'Copter

CIA Link

Kaplan is a nephew of J. M. Kaplan, president of the J. M. Kaplan Fund of New York. Testimony before the U.S. Congress has described the fund as a philanthropic organization created as a channel for funds of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Kaplan was sentenced to prison for manslaughter in the death of Luis Melchor Vidal, also of New York City, whose bullet-riddled body was found outside Mexico City on Nov. 11, 1961. Kaplan was arrested in Spain by Interpol agents in 1963 and returned to Mexico City for trial.

He pleaded innocent but was found guilty both of manslaughter and of entering Mexico on a false passport. While in jail, Kaplan divorced his wife and married Irma Vazquez Calderon of Mexico.

5 June 1971

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE Central Intelligence Agency seems at times to be the only really intelligent agency we have. Consider the record: The C.I.A. has done more for culture than the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities or the Ford Foundation, publishing highbrow journals in London, Berlin, Paris, and Bombay. It has subsidized student organizations that have formed the nucleus of the anti-war movement and have contributed greatly to the movement's leadership. While the Departments of State and Defense were giving moral and military support to the Portuguese imperialists in Africa, the C.I.A. was said to be covertly and quite effectively aiding the rebels in Angola and Mozambique. To be sure, in Cuba and Vietnam, the C.I.A. hasn't done too well, but you can't win them all. Anyway, it now seems to have surpassed itself—at least in independence and courage—by blowing the whistle on Melvin Laird and his braided alarmists in the Pentagon. It has disputed publicly the official view of the "missile crisis," and while it would be premature to say that it has destroyed the government's case, the presumption must always be that the government's case is overstated to begin with.

The issues here are not particularly complex or technical, though they are, one might say, rather abstract. Much depends on how one evaluates the significance of empty space—in this case, holes in the ground around Moscow. These holes have been seen and counted and measured by our spies on the ground and by our satellites in orbit. The big question is: Why are they there and what are they for? According to Secretary Laird, in a television appearance last March, the intelligence that had reached him confirmed "the fact that the Soviet Union is going forward with construction of a large missile system." By April 22nd, the confirmed fact was, he said, a "sobering" one: the Soviet Union was "involved in a new—and apparently extensive—ICBM construction program." In other words, the Russians were once again playing dirty pool. While sweet-talking at the SALT negotiations, they were digging holes for great big missiles that could sneak right past and around our ABMs, which safeguard us while we

sleep—or, at any rate, those of us who live in Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming, and Missouri. In late April, prospects looked bad for the SALT talks, despite the encouraging words of Brezhnev, who made everything sound very simple when, in Tiflis, he said, "All you have to do is to muster resolve to try the proposals that interest you by their taste. Translated into diplomatic language, this means 'Start negotiations.'" All very well, but how can a gentleman negotiate with a cad who is digging bigger and bigger holes on Soviet soil?

Now comes the C.I.A. to strike a blow for sanity and peace. Essentially, its argument is that you can't judge a hole by its size. It does not dispute the military's finding that there are large new cavities in the earth in the environs of Moscow. Nor does it question the possibility that the larger holes could be used to house larger missiles. But it does point out that they could also be used to pour concrete in to protect the smaller missiles they already have. Should this be the case, then it would seem unlikely that the Soviet Union is aiming at what down here in the capital we call a "first-strike capability"—i.e., a sure-fire knockout punch delivered before the song has sounded. The C.I.A. analysts (who, incidentally, leaked their misgivings and suspicions to Republicans in the Senate) do not prejudge the case, though they do suggest that if the Russians were building great big new missiles, they would be unlikely to plant them in fields of smaller ones. In any case, the C.I.A. has once again challenged Conventional Wisdom. One is particularly taken with the statement of Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr., described as a "former" C.I.A. official, who said before the Senate Appropriations Committee, "We must ask ourselves how many times we are going to allow the 'weaponizers' to come before the Congress and the people shouting 'missile gap' when in reality they are only creating another 'credibility gap.'"

—RICHARD H. ROVERE

STATINTL

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CIA on CIA

"I am the head of the silent service and cannot advertise my wares." - Allen Dulles, 1957.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors was flattered that theirs was the forum chosen by Mr. Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence and concurrently director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for his first public speech in 10 years. "The quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States in 1971," he told the editors in a self-serving assessment, "is better than it has ever been before." It would have been interesting had Mr. Helms attempted a correlation between value and volume. Benjamin Welles in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (April 18, 1971) breaks down the daily mountain of intelligence information as "50 percent from overt sources such as periodicals, 35 percent from electronics [satellites and radio], and the remaining 15 percent from agents." How important is the 15 percent?

Mr. Helms noted the "growing criticism" of CIA, but he avoided any discussion of its cause. The "intelligence" function of the agency is not what has provoked all the controversy. Criticism has centered not on "spying," but on CIA's political action abroad - the suborning of political leaders, labor union officials, scholars, students, journalists and anyone else who can be bought. CIA has been criticized for straying from information gathering onto the path of manipulation of foundations and such organizations as the National Student Association or Radio Free Europe or the AFL-CIO. Through liaison with foreign police and security services, the CIA tries to keep track of foreign "subversives," frequently defined as those who want to depose the government in power. Each report it manages to secure from its clandestine sources has a price in terms of closer alliance with one reactionary regime after another - as in Greece and numerous countries in Asia and Latin America. The complicity is no secret to the host government, or to the Communists, only to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Helms' point that "CIA is not and cannot be its own master" is the most difficult to accept, even from the honorable man that Mr. Helms unquestionably is. To be sure, there is a review system, but it is more shadow than substance. The President's foreign intelligence advisory board, which is supposed to analyze a \$4 billion Intelligence program, is characterized by inattention, fatigue and a charming lack of expertise. There is only the most cursory inspection and oversight of CIA by "elements of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees," which from time to time raise their hands in benediction over any Intelligence presentation. The average congressional "watchdog" is long in the tooth, and prefers not to receive a beating from the highly trained and highly trained confessing in advance lack of training in sound security

practices. Such small ad hoc bodies cannot possibly cope with the multi-agencies, their billions of dollars, and their hundreds of thousands of people; in sum, the "Intelligence community." The core question, as with the FBI, is an old one: who guards the guardians?

STATINTL

HA NOI RADIO SENDS SYMPATHY MESSAGE TO ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 27, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Radio Hanoi's message from the Daily Report of Foreign Broadcast Information Service for Wednesday, April 21, should be illuminating to those Americans who wonder about all of the antiwar commotion which is provoking tension throughout our country.

Hanoi's Professor Giam, chairman of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American People, is said to have "sent a message to antiwar veterans in the United States to express warm sympathy with the new antiwar campaigns in the spring."

The text of Professor Giam's message to his "dear American friends" sounds more like a call to arms to a guerrilla army in the United States.

The North Vietnam propagandists, like their American friends, are interested in far more than such a noble purpose as ending war. They are after total U.S. defeat in disgrace and the destruction of the United States of America. Perhaps to their way of rationalization in a Communist prison cell there is no war and four gray walls could bring peace.

I ask that the Radio Hanoi broadcast and the Herald of Freedom publication containing "Revolution USA 1971," for April 16, 1971, follow:

HOANG MINH GIAM LETTER SUPPORTS U.S. ANTIWAR ACTIVITIES

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1557 GMT 17 Apr 71 B

[Text] Hanoi VNA April 17—Prof. Hoang Minh Giam, chairman of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American People, has sent a message to antiwar fighters in the United States to express warm sympathy with the new anti-war campaigns in the spring.

"The nation-wide action," the message said, "together with the previous ones, are the high crests of the rising waves of indignation among the American people. They constitute an ever-growing force checking the advance of the Nixon administration's adventurous and war-like policies."

"Through concrete actions, you voice the aspirations of the majority of the American people, the genuine Americans who cherish freedom, democracy, and justice. You also contribute to consolidating and developing the solidarity and mutual understanding between our two peoples."

"In the last period, you have had to overcome many difficulties resulting from the U.S. administration's maneuvers of deception, division, and repression. The U.S. authorities have branded the peace movement 'unpatriotic' and have persecuted many of its fighters. Along with the repression of the Black Panther party and other organizations, they have framed up the Angela Davis case and are engineering the so-called 'Maoist conspiracy' in an attempt to crush the Berrigan brothers and others."

"But the American people will not be ignored. Anti-war feelings, far from abating, are mounting higher and higher. The American people, the silent majority in America,

have enough facts to compare the Nixon administration's words with its deeds. They can see the origin of the innumerable internal difficulties now facing the United States."

"Mr. Nixon says he will wind down the war on his way to ending it. In fact, the war in South Vietnam is not only continuing and getting more and more ferocious, it is expanding to Laos and Cambodia and threatens to spread to North Vietnam. American lives, American people's wealth, are uselessly squandered in Vietnam."

"Mr. Nixon says the 'Vietnamization' policy is gaining success. But the movement of the people in the cities as well as in the countryside in South Vietnam is developing. Meanwhile, the puppet army and puppet administration are weakening, becoming more and more corrupt, as they from one failure to another."

"Mr. Nixon talks about the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. But he still clings to Thieu-Ky-Khiem and uses American and puppet troops to perpetrate abominable crimes in South Vietnam, crimes which offend the conscience of the people of America and the world and heap dishonor upon the United States."

"Mr. Nixon says he is giving priority to domestic affairs. But inflation, unemployment, and crime rates are spiraling in the U.S."

"Therefore, the majority of the American people have realized that there will be no solution to these difficulties so long as the war goes on. You are demanding that the U.S. administration put an end to the war, and set the date for total withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam before the end of 1971, that they discontinue support of Thieu-Ky-Khiem and respect the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination."

The message went on: "You have started to mobilize all the forces in the ethnic groups, religious communities, and different social strata to build for anti-war activities around the nation this spring. The 'people's peace treaty' which reflects the common aspirations of our two peoples, is commanding more and more endorsement and support. Your diversified activities, either centralized or decentralized, if able to stimulate and involve the peace forces, all contribute to checking the war policies of the U.S. administration, while preserving the interests of the American people and the honor of the United States. At the same time, they are a strong encouragement to the Vietnamese people in their fight for independence and freedom."

REVOLUTION U.S.A., 1971

In the minds of most people the word "revolution" in the past has meant "overthrow of a government, form of government or social system with another taking its place" (Webster's Dictionary—College Edition—1957). Through a Pavlovian type process the word "revolution" in very recent years is being used in connection with changes in education, health care, correcting "social evils," and most recently was used by President Nixon in his State of the Union message as a projected program—"The New American Revolution." Thus the word "revolution" is so frequently used in connection with matters not having to do with the overthrow of governments that the word has attained respectability. When people now hear or read the word, it does not invoke the apprehension it did previously.

The fact is that a revolution is going on in the U.S. and has been for a number of years. It operates on two levels: from within the government, which can be described as the pressure from above and in the mass movements, constituting the pressure from below.

The mass movement (pressure from below) requires the support of a large portion of the

population and, therefore, must be built around a cause with mass appeal. This recently has taken the form of the anti-war-in-Vietnam and anti-draft movement with numerous organizations participating, most of them Communist-controlled or influenced. Another popular mass movement is in the field of so-called "civil rights." Originally seeking equal rights, job opportunities, and integration, it has expanded to dozens of organizations with varying degrees of militancy, from civil disobedience advocates to inciters of riots, arsonists, and assassins. A third mass movement is in the area of expanded welfare through which literally millions of people who formerly supported themselves are now dependent upon the government and politicians. The welfare recipients have been organized nationally to perpetuate welfare, to prevent a voting block and to threaten the political future of candidates who oppose their demands. The organized student groups and associations constitute another mass movement and the leadership in this area is, for the most part, liberal, radical or pro-Communist. These groups are financed by foundations and the U.S. government, through various grants and surreptitiously through the CIA.

On the level of pressure from above, the government "yields" to the demands made by the groups mentioned above whose programs have been encouraged and financed in many cases by the government itself. In the guise of helping to solve the various problems as they arise, the government obtains more and more control over the people, which invariably leads to totalitarianism or dictatorship. Through financial grants the government secures more and more control of the educational institutions of the country and recently planned its control over the raising of children. Through the use of financial support, grants, handouts and now "revenue-sharing," the federal government (as it moves into a field of American life) also gets control . . . with the money go the strings. This applies to the last line of defense (police departments) where the government is making enormous grants supposedly to fight crime, but lawlessness in the streets is increasing and they know it. In the health and medical services, they are moving slowly but surely towards socialized medicine. In the field of transportation, railroads are becoming indebted to the federal government because of high taxes, improper unprofitable rate schedules, until before long the government will have control of much of the means of transportation. In the field of agriculture, there has been continuous control over many segments of farming since the days of the Roosevelt Administration. Farmers are paid not to plant, not to raise food at a time when food is needed. Regulations and subsidies have given the government a strong hold over agriculture. In addition, there is and has been under way, with foundation support and government approval, an effort to organize farm workers throughout the country so as to be able to further control the food supply.

Opposing the pressure from above and below are anti-Communist individuals and organizations whom the government, spending billions of dollars allegedly "fighting communism," should be supporting. To the contrary, constant efforts are being made to see that such organizations do not have tax-exempt status and the controlled communications media consistently make an effort to discredit those individuals and organizations who oppose Communism. Conservative religious organizations are harassed and efforts are made to discredit their programs. Local police, who in the past had been able to control radicalism, subversion, riots and other lawlessness, have been subjected to civilian control, review boards, discrediting publicity and even assaults and assassinations. The military, also in the category of

Capitol Punishment

Ping-Pong Cap

STATINTL

By Ari Buchwald

It's very rare that the CIA gets caught flatfooted, but the other day when Red China invited the United States to send a table-tennis team to Peking, the Central Intelligence Agency discovered it had no champion ping-pong players in the organization whom it could send along on the trip.

CIA officials were going crazy trying to find someone before the U.S. team left for Peking last Saturday.

In panic, the CIA officials decided to hold a crash program in ping-pong. Neighbors who live around Langley, Va., where the top-secret agency is located, reported seeing truckloads of ping-pong tables going through the gates.

They have reported that they can't sleep at night because of the noise of thousands of balls being hit back and forth across the tables set up in the CIA gymnasium.

Any agent who ever played ping-pong in boy's camp or at the beach had been given leave from his regular duties and brought to Langley in hopes he might be developed into a champion ping-pong player before the U.S. team took off for Peking.

The CIA also held an Employees' Ping-Pong Tournament during lunch hour with cash prizes of up to \$100,000 of unaccountable funds to encourage more people to take up the sport.

Yet, despite these desperate measures, officials of the agency are pessimistic that they'll be able to develop anybody worthy of playing Red China at table tennis.

"What difference does it make if he isn't a champion?" I asked a CIA official.

"We have a serious problem," he said. "This is the first time we're playing Red China at any sport. Table tennis is the most important game in China."

"The USA and the State Department want the United States to field the best team it can find, because they believe that if we can defeat the Chinese at ping-pong, it would be the greatest propaganda victory of the Cold War."

"On the other hand, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA feel it would be better to send a mediocre team and risk defeat in exchange for finding out what Mao-Tse-Tung is really thinking."

"The ideal, of course, would be to send a champion ping-pong player who also can figure out what is going on in Peking. But so far we can't find anybody."

"Why is that?" I asked. "Surely in this vast organization you must have some excellent table-tennis players."

"Unfortunately, most of our agents are golfers," he said sadly. "We also have some tennis players and a few people who play croquet. But no one here ever thought to recruit ping-pong players."

"Couldn't you borrow a champion player from another agency of the government?"

"The only one who could have qualified was a man who worked for the FBI and had won the intercollegiate ping-pong championship of 1956. But, unfortunately, he was fired a month ago for telling a friend he didn't like J. Edgar Hoover's barber."

"Then it looks like the United States table tennis team may have to go to Peking without CIA representation?" I said.

"Unless we can come up with a sleeper," the official said. "Our recruiters are out on the college campuses right now and their orders are to find someone, anyone. It doesn't make any difference if he can pass a security clearance, as long as he has a vicious backhand."

"Will anyone be punished because the CIA was unprepared to provide an agent for the Red China table tennis tournament?" I asked.

"Our personnel director was demoted and transferred to Iceland the other day, but at the last minute President Nixon commuted his sentence."

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Morine Cheshire is ill. Her VIP column will resume when she returns.

Skolnick links Conspiracy, CIA

By MARY LOFTUS

Sherman Skolnick, sponsored by the Freshman Law Students, spoke to an audience that overflowed 141 Commerce West on Tuesday night. The speech centered on the third point of the Citizen's Committee to Clean up the Courts.

Collusion, according to Skolnick, was exemplified in the Chicago 7 Conspiracy Trial-collusion of the Chicago 7 and the CIA. "When the rhetoric and the philosophy are dispensed with," he said, the facts emerge.

'Incredible' facts

Yet, the rhetoric and the seeming philosophy were utilized by Skolnick to reach the audience. Consequently, the emerging facts tended to be less credible, since he seemed to lack his own advice.

The facts became vague, a hint, implied. The correlational quality of Skolnick's material did not necessarily mean causation. Discreditation of the peace movement was not the case in fact, but the ease in hint.

Skolnick's implications tried to link the Chicago Conspiracy with the CIA through funding, through "front conduits," and through Chicago newspapers.

Federal funding?

The funding was due to the financing of Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, according to Skolnick, and persons connected with them in the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam were funded by federal money channeled to them through government-front organizations.

"\$192,000 in federal money and \$85,000 from the Carnegie Foundation (a suspected C.I.A. conduit) were funneled to Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, et al., and others through a front calling itself the Chicago Student Health Organization," he said.

Terms such as Rennie Davis' "nefarious interests," Tom Hayden's "numerous benefits," and Abbie Hoffman "staying at the home of the Sun-Times editor," all contributed to a growing inability for the audience to lend any of Skolnick's reports' credence.

Little credibility

The lack of credibility seemed to evolve when Skolnick was questioned concerning the validity of his sources, the sketchiness of the speech, and the facts for further reference. This is not to say that Skolnick did not have some facts worthy of note. The suggestion seemed to be to "do some thinking, there is always a possibility."

Discreditation of the peace movement was the implication, and the possibility of the C.I.A. as a factor influencing the Conspiracy Trial was the overt cause. Somehow the tie between the two, although a possibility, seemed to be some what of a dirt-slinging against the radical-revolutionaries. "Abbie Hoffman's main function other than clowning around is the distribution of some 3 to 5 million dollars of dope at each Rock Festival."

STATINTL

Jan 1971

NO INTELLIGENCE

A Worried Look At The C.I.A.

Frank A. Capell is a professional intelligence specialist of almost thirty years' standing. He is Editor and Publisher of the fortnightly newsletter, *The Herald Of Freedom*, has contributed to such important national magazines as *The Review Of The News*, and is author of *Robert F. Kennedy - A Political Biography*, *The Untouchables*, and other books of interest to Conservatives. Mr. Capell appears frequently on radio and television, lectures widely, and never fears controversy. He lives in New Jersey, is an active Catholic layman, and father of seven sons.

THE Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947 after its wartime predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.), was exposed as thoroughly infiltrated by the Communists. Let us examine some of that O.S.S. personnel.

In 1948, former Communist spy Elizabeth Bentley appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. On Page 529 of the formal report of those Hearings is the record of Miss Bentley's testimony about intelligence she received from Comrades inside O.S.S. while she was operating as a Soviet courier:

All types of information were given, highly secret information on what the OSS was doing, such as, for example, that they were trying to make secret negotiations with governments in the Balkan bloc in case the war ended, that they were parachuting people into Hungary, that they were sending OSS people into Turkey to operate in the Balkans, and so on. The fact that General Donovan [head of O.S.S.] was interested in having an exchange between the NKVD [the Soviet secret police] and the OSS.

That's right, O.S.S. and the N.K.V.D. were working very close indeed.

When asked what kind of information Communist O.S.S. operative Maurice Halperin gave her to be forwarded to the Soviet Union, Miss Bentley testified:

"Well, in addition to all the information which OSS was getting on Latin America, he had access to the cables which the OSS was getting in from its agents abroad, worldwide information of various sorts, and also the OSS had an agreement with the State Department whereby he also could see State Department cables on vital issues." Halperin was Chief of the O.S.S. Latin American Division at the time when, as Miss Bentley has sworn, he was one of her contacts in a Soviet espionage ring.

Carl Aldo Marzani was Chief of the Editorial Section of the O.S.S. Marzani has been several times identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Using the most highly classified information, he supervised the making of charts on technical reports for higher echelons of the Army, the Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the O.S.S. Comrade Marzani made policy decisions and was liaison officer between the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army and the Office of the Undersecretary of War.

When questioned before a Congressional Committee, Irving Fajans of O.S.S. took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit to his Communist Party membership and long history of activities on behalf of the Soviets. Comrade Fajans was a key O.S.S. operative despite the fact that he was known to have been member of the Communist Party and have served in the Communists' Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain during the years 1937-1938.

Robert Talbott Miller III was another contact of Soviet courier Elizabeth Bentley. An O.S.S. employee assigned to the State Department, he was Assistant Chief in the Division of Research. On a trip to Moscow, Comrade Miller married a member of the staff of the *Moscow News*.

Leonard E. Mins, a writer who had worked for the International Union of Revolutionary Writers in Moscow and had written for *New Masses*, was also on the staff of the top secret O.S.S. Comrade Mins took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit to his Communist Party membership in the Communist Party. He refused to deny that he was a Soviet agent ever

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